

A critical edition of William Sampson's 'The Vow Breaker' 1636.

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**A CRITICAL EDITION OF
WILLIAM SAMPSON'S *THE VOWBREAKER* (1636)**

Patricia A. Griffin

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of
Sheffield Hallam University
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

May 2009

Abstract

This thesis is a critical edition of William Sampson's mid-seventeenth-century play, *The Vow Breaker, or The Fair Maid of Clifton*, edited according to the guidelines set down by the Revels Plays Series. The Introduction is divided into ten sections: William Sampson; performance; synopsis; the siege of Leith; navigation of the Trent; other seventeenth-century vow breakers; the significance of *The Fair Maid of Clifton*; genre; the 1636 text; Hans Wallrath. In addition, there is a full textual collation and details of editorial procedures. The play itself is presented in a fully modernised version. There is a full Commentary with index, and a bibliography. In the Appendix there is a facsimile of the Bodleian copy of *The Vow Breaker* and a map suggesting Sampson's connection with the counties of Nottingham and Derby.

This is the first modern edition of *The Vow Breaker* and is supported by a full Commentary. The Introduction supplements that of Hans Wallrath of 1914 and brings together in one place all the other information that I have been able to find about the play and its contexts. My thesis makes this little-known play accessible to modern readers and enables some, at least, of its original meanings and resonances to be recovered. In addition, I have produced a text that might be usable to anyone who wished to stage a performance.

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my parents,

James and Catherine Wilson

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Finally, sincere thanks go to my friend Charles Kelham, whose encouragement has been immeasurable; his lateral thinking has kept me inspired and his company has been invaluable as we have explored the counties of Derby and Nottingham in my search for William Sampson.

Thank you, everyone.

Abbreviations

| | |
|----------|---|
| CSPF | Calendar of State Papers, Foreign series of reign of Elizabeth I, 1559-1560. |
| CSPS | Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547-1603. |
| DNB | <i>The Dictionary of National Biography</i> , (a) eds. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee. 21 vols. London, 1908-9; (b) ed. Lawrence Goldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. |
| ECCO | Eighteenth Century Collections Online. |
| EEBO | Early English Books Online. |
| EMLS | Early Modern Literary Studies. |
| OED | <i>The Oxford English Dictionary</i> , 2nd edn. Oxford University Press, 1989. |
| MS(S) | manuscript(s). |
| r | recto. |
| REED | Records of Early English Drama. |
| SD | Stage direction. |
| S.T.C. | A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, <i>A Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640</i> . 2nd edn., ed. W.A. Jackson et al, 3 vols. London: The Bibliographical Society, 1986-1991. |
| this edn | (reading adopted for the first time in) this edition. |
| v | verso. |

Introduction

*The Vow Breaker, or The Fair Maid of Clifton*¹

This modern-spelling edition of Sampson's play endeavours to establish a well-prepared and reliable scholarly text set within its historical context. For the purpose of this new edition, the copy text is that printed in 1636 held by the Bodleian Library; there is no known extant manuscript copy. I have traced nineteen copies of the only known edition (found in the UK, US and Australia), ten of which I have closely examined including the prompt copy held by Melbourne University, and I discuss the press-variants which appear on only a few pages, under that heading in this thesis. (Hans Wallrath footnotes variations that he found in two editions, and I also comment on these.)

I have considered reasons for when and why Sampson may have been inspired to write *The Vow Breaker, or The Fair Maid of Clifton*, and have looked at events from about 1625 to 1635 that may bear some relevance. The play has several different themes - the maid of Clifton interwoven with the Siege of Leith, but also the childbed scene, the entertainment plans, and the visit of the queen and it is quite possible, therefore, that Sampson wrote it irregularly during this decade. However, although parts of the play could have been written at any time, I would suggest that it may have been finished only a year or so before publication as Sampson appears to refer to James Smith's 'mock' poem, *Hero and Leander*, probably dated from the early or mid-1630s.

¹Sampson, William. *The Vow Breaker, or the Fair Maid of Clifton*. London: Norton, 1636.
²*The Vow Breaker*, 2.1.68; Raylor, Timothy. *Cavaliers, Clubs, and Literary Culture: Sir John Mennes, James Smith, and the Order of the Fancy*. Newark: University of Delaware Presses, c.1994. p. 136.
Also: Booth, Roy. 'Hero's Afterlife: "Hero and Leander" and "lewd unmannerly verse" in the late Seventeenth Century'. *EMLS* 12.3 (Jan 2007), 4.1-24).

In *The Vow Breaker* Sampson mocks the ideologies of Puritans: this theme may have been suggested by the religious conflict that was causing strained relations at the time between the Protestants and Catholics, and it was also during the 1620s that a number of Puritans left England to establish their own communities in America.

There was no specific conflict between England, Scotland and France at this time that may have motivated Sampson to write about the siege of 1560 although Charles I's accession to the throne in 1625 brought with it a series of political and religious conflicts and for years there was friction between the king and Scotland, not helped by his long overdue Scottish coronation in 1633.³ Charles was determined to impose his decisions on his governments and this affected his relations with his Parliaments in England (that also represented Wales), Scotland and Ireland. Lisa Hopkins suggests that the growing political unpopularity of Charles I provoked a collective soul-searching on the subject of national identities.⁴

In 1622, when Sampson was in his early twenties, he collaborated with Gervase Markham on *Herod and Antipater* and then published his own play *The Widow's Prize, or The Woman Captain* in 1625. At about this time he entered the employment of Sir Henry Willoughby of Risley, dedicating *The Vow Breaker* to Willoughby's youngest unmarried daughter, Anne, and naming his 'maid' after her.⁵ Apart from this play,

³ Bennett, Martyn. *The English Civil War*. Stroud, Glos.: Tempus, 2004. p. 8.

⁴ Hopkins, Lisa. 'We were the Trojans: British national identities in 1633'. *Renaissance Studies* 16, 1 (2002): 36-51.

⁵ The fifteenth-century Nottinghamshire legend refers to the ill-fated couple as Margaret and Bateman [Rosslyn Bruce, *The Clifton Book (Nottingham)*. Nottingham: Saxton, 1906. V. 23; 65-70]. A ballad entered in the Stationers' Register in 1603 does not name the 'faithless maid' although 'young Bateman' is referred to [Bateman's Tragedy, Pepys 1.504-505]. A chapbook published after Sampson's death, and bearing the same woodcut as used by him refers to the girl as 'fair Isobella', and Bateman is given the forename of James [Bateman's Tragedy: or the Perjured Bride justly Rewarded, Pepys 1.501; III.766].

Sampson also published a volume of poems, *Virtus Post Funera Vivit*, in 1636.

Sampson's life experiences are an enigma: I have been unable to find any evidence as to when he wrote any of his own compositions and no positive clues that could suggest dates.

The title page of *The Vow Breaker* informs that the play had been 'acted by several Companies with great applause' but there is no evidence as to where the play was performed. Sampson had connections with the Red Bull and the Prince's Company but *The Vow Breaker* does not appear in references to their productions.⁶ I have searched through records of the important families in Nottinghamshire (the setting for his play) and Derbyshire (where he lived with the Willoughby family) but there is no mention of Sampson or clues that the play had been performed in any of the big houses, and the records relating to drama in these counties are not yet edited and published.⁷

The Vow Breaker would have had appeal to a local audience as one of its two main themes was that of a local legend dating from the 15th century that had been published as a ballad in 1603. The Nottinghamshire interest would have been further fuelled by the second main theme, the Siege of Leith of 1560, in which local men are given important roles.⁸ In addition, as the conflict was only some seventy years earlier, local people may have been familiar with the event and have had family knowledge.

The Vow Breaker, or The Fair Maid of Clifton is a play of many parts and emotions that does not receive the attention that I feel it deserves. Although Sampson has taken

⁶These were the companies that performed *Herod and Antipater* and *The Widow's Prize*.

⁷Sally-Beth MacLean, REED.

⁸e.g. Gervase Clifton, who did fight in the Siege of Leith, but also men who may well have been recognised: miller, portrait painter, shoemaker, and the mayor (tanner).

phrases and ideas direct from many of Shakespeare's plays and used them in his own work, he has written an entertaining play in which he lightens the tragedy of Bateman and Anne by comic scenes that sometimes border on burlesque. His play, probably suggested by both the 1603 ballad and the Nottinghamshire legend, has itself inspired other writers of poems, a novel by Scott, even the lyrics for musical 'extravaganzas'.

This edition of *The Vow Breaker* is supported by a full Introduction and an explanatory Commentary that replaces what Thomas L. Berger described as a 'band of terror'.⁹ In the Introduction I have examined possible sources for the themes in the play and have endeavoured to identify William Sampson and trace the performance details. In addition, I have reflected on Hans Wallrath's thesis and discussed textual variants in ten copies of the play.

9 (Thomas L. Berger: Professor of English, St Lawrence University, N.Y. The 'band of terror' separates the text of the play and the historical and explanatory notes.) Leah Sinanoglou Marcus. *Unediting the Renaissance: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Milton*. London: Routledge, 1996. p. 72.

In search of William Sampson

According to John Godfrey in 1894, William Sampson was born at the end of the sixteenth century in South Leverton, five miles east of Retford, and was a poet and dramatist who flourished in the early part of the seventeenth century.¹ His family, says Godfrey, were wealthy landowners and Sampson, a 'religious gentleman', married a Miss Vicars and was the father of two sons, both of whom became Fellows of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. Godfrey states this information as a matter of fact but, unfortunately, does not supply any supporting evidence and, in 1897, this information is repeated with confidence in the *Dictionary of National Biography* by its then author, Sidney Lee, who gives Sampson's dates as 1594 - 1636.

David Kathman's entry of 2004 in the *Dictionary of National Biography* corrects the dates given by Sidney Lee in his earlier account of Sampson's life and names Hans Wallrath as the source of his information.³ There may well have been another William Sampson whose dates are as Lee suggested but it is likely that the evidence Wallrath found, that I have confirmed, relates specifically to the playwright. This shows that Sampson must have been born about 1600 and was still alive in 1655. Kathman states that Sampson 'cannot be identified certainly with any William Sampson born in England around that time'. Although this may be true, there is also no evidence to indicate that he was not born in Nottinghamshire and, in fact, when the themes of *The Vow Breaker* are considered, this would seem to be most likely.

¹ Godfrey, John T. *William Sampson, Seventeenth Century Poet and Dramatist*. [Newark]: The Newark Advertiser, 1894.

² Lee, DNB (1897).

³ Kathman, David. DNB (2004), vol 48, p. 804.

Wallrath, Hans. *William Sampson's 'Vow-Breaker'*. Löwen: Materialien zur Kunde des Alteren Englischen Dramas, 1914.

In 1622 Sampson's name first appears in print. *The True Tragedy of Herod and Antipater*, a play 'Written by Gervase Markham And William Sampson, Gentlemen', has a dedication to Sir Thomas Finch signed by Sampson.⁴ Markham, an experienced and respected author, was more than thirty years older than Sampson and it is possible, therefore, that Sampson was his student. In January 1625 Sampson's own play, a comedy entitled *The Widow's Prize, or The Woman Captain*, was licensed for performance 'For the Prince's Company', for which William Rowley was the leader but, as the play contained 'much abusive matter' (the details of which are not known), it was only allowed on condition that 'reformations were observed'.⁵ Although this play was entered for publication in 1653 there is no record that it was ever printed and it is alleged that it was one of the many lost manuscripts that John Warburton's cook Betsy is reputed to have used to line her pie tins.⁶

In 1636 Sampson published his last two known works, a play: *The Vow Breaker, or The Faire Maide of Clifton*, and a volume of thirty-two poems: *Virtus Post Funera Vivit*. There is no evidence that he published anything else, although there is mention of an extant and unprinted poem *Loues Metamorphosis or Apollo and Daphne*, and it has also been suggested that he may have been the author of *Petronius Maximus*, by 'W.S'.ⁿ

⁴ Markham, Gervase and William Sampson. *The True Tragedy of Herod and Antipater*. London: Eld, 1922.

⁵ Bentley, Gerald Eades. *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*. 1 vols. London: Oxford, 1967. vol. 5. 1046.

⁶ Greg, W.W. 'The Bakings of Betsy', *The Library*, (1911), s3, 7, II, 225-259.

⁷ [*Loues ...*] Harleian MS 6947, 41, 318-36 (BL);

[*Petronius ...*] Oliphant E.H.C. 'Authorship in Elizabethan Dramatic Literature', *Modern Philology*. 8, 3, (Jan 1911): 436.

Sampson is also credited with dedicating to Lucy Hastings another unprinted poem, *Cicero's Loyal Epistle according to Hannibal Caro*.⁸

With the publication in 1636 of *The Vow Breaker*, there is evidence that Sampson was familiar with the Willoughby family of Risley, as the play is dedicated to Anne, eldest unmarried daughter of Sir Henry, and Sampson refers to himself as Willoughby's servant. Although this may have been a courtesy description, if Willoughby were his patron, I believe that Sampson was in his employment. Sir Henry Willoughby (1579 - 1653) lived in Risley Hall, Derbyshire, close to the county boundary with Nottinghamshire. He was a direct descendant of Richard Bugge de Wiluby, mentioned in the Domesday survey and, although related to the Willoughbys of Wollaton Hall, was of a separate branch.⁹ In 1653 Willoughby's annual income was in excess of £1000 a year and his annual wages bill for full-time servants was £200, so it was likely that employment with him was to be coveted.¹⁰

Evidence suggests that Willoughby employed William Sampson for some thirty years, but it is not known in what capacity or whether it was continuous, although it is reasonable to assume that he remained in the Willoughby household. At the commencement of Sampson's employment, Henry's eldest daughter Mary was already

⁸Lee, Sidney. *William Sampson*, DNB, (1987). [The mother-in-law of Lucy Hastings, Countess Hastings, was a dedicatee of one of Sampson's obituary poems (1633)].

⁹It is interesting that the families of Henry Willoughby and Gervase Clifton (an important character in the play) were distantly related: Henry was a descendent of Hugh Willoughby who married Isabel Clifton (d. 1462), daughter of an earlier Gervase Clifton. I am indebted to the rector of St. Chad's, Wilne, for a copy of the Willoughby family tree.

¹⁰Cliffe, J.T. *The world of the country house in seventeenth-century England*. Yale University Press, 1999. p. 102.

married and he was living in Risley with Anne, his second surviving daughter from his first marriage and with his second wife and their first daughter, Catherine.¹¹

It may be assumed from Sir Henry's will of 1653 that Sampson was a respected and trustworthy member of the Willoughby household: he was named as executor and his wife Hannah received gifts of significant value and was given responsibilities for carrying out Sir Henry's wishes.¹² David Kathman refers to a 'Hanna Sampson, presumably some relation of the playwright, possibly a daughter or wife'. From a study of Henry's will, however (the writing is unambiguous), I believe that the details of his bequests make clear Hannah's correct name and her relationship to William:

For my wearing clothes ... I leave to the disposing of my trusty and faithful and careful servant, Hannah Sampson, the wife of my servant William Sampson ...
I give my Ruby hatbands ... to Hannah Sampson
I give to Mrs Smith [wife of a co-executor] and Mrs Sampson ...
The plate to be divided by Hannah Sampson ...

Wallrath states quite firmly that 'Hanna' [his spelling] 'was the executor of [Henry's] last will... This must undoubtedly be Sampson's daughter... \ 131 have found no other evidence in which the name of Hannah appears and believe, from studying Henry's will, that there is no doubt that Hannah was so spelt by Willoughby or his lawyer (our only record of the name), and that she is 'the wife of... William'.

In the British Library I have seen an Affidavit of 29th September 1649, stating that Sampson was then 'about fourty nine Yeeres' and testifying that he remembered the birth of Sir Henry Willoughby's daughter Elizabeth in 1628 'myself being the Servant

¹¹ It is known from the affidavit dated 29.09.1649, [Harleian MSS 99 (18)], that Sampson was already employed by Willoughby in 1628.

¹² Will of Sir Henry Willoughby of Risley. PROB 11/240.

¹³ Wallrath - p. 5 (translation), p. 8 (German).

unto the said Sr Henry Willoughby'.¹⁴ It has not been possible for me to examine the Willoughby household accounts as there are no extant family papers available: they were lost after the death of Anne, Sir Henry's last surviving daughter, in 1688, as her marriage to Anchitell Grey brought him the estate at Risley, and their son sold it.

To further support the information available about Sampson's life, there is evidence that in 1655 (the year following Willoughby's death) Sampson and the other executors petitioned for damages at court against a number of people who accused them of committing forgery in the execution of their offices.¹⁵ It would be reasonable to believe, therefore, that Sampson was born in or near 1600, that he was already working for Sir Henry in 1628, and that he was still alive in 1655.

Sidney Lee records that Sampson's wife was widowed and remarried in 1637. This statement is a little ambiguous. It may be that Sampson married a widow in 1637 (I have been unable to find any evidence of his marriage in the parish registers of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire) but perhaps Lee misread a record for one of the many Sampsons to be found in the registers and believed that William died in 1637. If this were Lee's belief, he was mistaken. It could be reasonably assumed, although there is no proof, that it was William Sampson, the playwright, who was executor of Henry Willoughby's will in 1655, in which case, as Wallrath also states, he was still alive twenty years after Lee asserted that his 'widow' remarried.¹⁶ As it is highly unlikely that there were two William Sampsons working for Willoughby at the same time with close connections to the family through *The Vow Breaker*, it could be assumed that William Sampson, playwright, was the Sampson of Willoughby's household. It is also probable,

¹⁴ Harleian MSS 99 (18), British Library, [also seen by Wallrath].

¹⁵ Addit, MS, 6688 f.142 [also previously referred to by Wallrath].

¹⁶ Wallrath, p. 5 (translation), p. 8 (German).

therefore, that this was the same man who testified as to the exact time of Elizabeth's birth.

In his 1719 guide to the lives of contemporary and historical poets, *The Poetical Register*, Giles Jacob states that Sampson was in the employment of Willoughby when he wrote *The Vow Breaker*. As Jacob wrote his guide well before Godfrey wrote his biography, it could be presumed that Jacob obtained his information from a different source, although this may just have been from the Dedication of Sampson's play.

Jacob's entry for 'Mr William Sampson' reads:

A Gentleman retain'd in the Family of Sir Henry Willoughby, of Richley [sic] in Derbyshire, in the Reign of King Charles I. He writ one Play, *The Vow Breaker, or The Fair Maid of Clifton in Nottinghamshire*; a Tragedy, acted with great Applause. 1633 [sic]. Dedicated to Mrs Anne Willoughby. He also join'd with Mr Markham in his *Herod and Antipater*}¹

My searches through the (often illegible and damaged) Parish Registers of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire have not revealed any positive evidence that a William Sampson was bom about 1600, that he married, baptised his children or was buried between 1655 and 1690, when he would have been ninety. The early parish registers appear to be untidy and, as Sampson lived during the turbulent times of the Civil Wars, many papers may have been destroyed. The register of Wilne, for example, states 'Here hath beene 13 yeaes of this Regester Booke neglected ... Gervase Falconer Nov 8 1652'.⁸

⁸Jacob, Giles. *The Poetical Register or, the Lives and Characters of the English Dramatick Poets. With an Account of their Writings*. London: E. Curll, 1719. p. 288. [also-J. McLaverty, 'Pope and Giles Jacob's "Lives of the Poets": The "Dunciad" as Alternative Literary History'. *Modern Philology*. 83, 1 (Aug. 1986) 22-32.]

¹⁷Wilne: Henry Willoughby's family are buried in St Chad's, Wilne. (The Register covers the Risley and Breaston districts.)

I have not found any entries in the Probate Records for the Nottinghamshire Archives that I feel confident relate directly to William Sampson, author of *The Vow Breaker*, or of Hannah. John Godfrey states that ‘the entries in the parish registers unfortunately commence only with the year 1658, the earlier entries being entirely illegible’. In fact, it has been possible to read earlier entries and I have found the following that cover William’s probable lifetime although they have no obvious connection with him or his wife; reference is made, however, to the Sampsons of South Leverton.

16 Nov 1594 Marriage William Sampson als. Porter, of Treswell, husb., & Helen Legat, of same; at South Leverton. (Nottinghamshire Marriage Licences Archdeacon’s Court. Peculiar Court of Southwell. 1594.)

18 Apr 1619 Marriage William Sampson & Benet Browne, at South Muskham. (Microfiche 1 South Muskham). 9

07. ? .1621 Marriage William Samson [sic] of South Leverton, yeom, & Hellen Vicars, of Treswell, spr.; at same.(Nottinghamshire Marriage Licences Archdeacon’s Court. Southwell. 1621.)

19 Nov 1623 Marriage William Sampson, of Axholme, & Anne Bradford, at Beckingham. (Microfiche 1 Beckingham).

25 Apr 1629 Marriage William Sampson & Mary Awverye at South Muskham. (Microfiche 1, South Muskham)

14 Feb 1638 Marriage William Sampson & Elizabeth Newton, at Laneham. (Microfiche 1 Laneham).

13 May 1641 Marriage William Samson [sic] & Margaret Green at Newark-upon-Trent. Microfiche 5 Newark).

1650 Administrations in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury - [will of] Sampson, William, South Leverton, Notts. (1650.113.)

15 Dec 1663 Marriage Robert Sampson, the younger, of South Leverton, husb., & Mary Stedman, of Treswell, spr.; at East Retford. (Nottinghamshire Marriage Licences Archdeacon’s Court. Southwell. 1663.)

27 Dec 1667 Marriage Robert Clarke, of Torksey, co. Line., gent., & Mary Sampson, spr., dau. Of William Sampson, gent., of Rampton, at Rampton.(Nottinghamshire Marriage Licences Archdeacon’s Court. Southwell. 1667-8.)

09 Apr 1668 Joana the Daughter of Leonard Sampson was buried (Headon). (Microfiche 1 Headon).

21 Dec 1671 Hannah the wife of Leonard Sampson of Upton was buried (Headon). (Microfiche 1 Headon).

In addition, searches in the National Archives have revealed

13 Jly 1653 Will of Isaacke Sampson of South Leverton. (PROB 11/22).

27 Sept 1658 Will of William Sampson, Yeoman of Bardney, Lincs.

¶All microfiches are available at Nottingham Archives and Local Studies Library.

I presume that the 1621 marriage entry to Hellen Vicars is the union referred to by John Godfrey and this could, theoretically, have been a first marriage for William although in that year, when Sampson would have been about twenty-one, he was publishing *Herod and Antipater* with Gervase Markham. Godfrey mentions two sons who were ‘admitted’ to Pembroke College, Cambridge, in 1646 and 1653. We know that Sampson was already working for Henry Willoughby by 1628 and the DNB entry for the younger boy, baptised in 1635, appears to make it quite evident that Sampson was not his father and that the dramatist had not married Hellen (who died in 1687).²⁰ In addition, the DNB entry for Obadiah Grew (second husband to ‘Ellen or Helen’) states that William Sampson ‘supposedly recommended Grew to his wife as her second husband on his deathbed’.²¹ We know that William was alive in the 1650s. I have found no specific information in the National Archives’ Probate Records (including those of the Exchequer and Chancery) that may be considered relevant to William Sampson’s family.

It is disappointing that, although Sampson lived with the Willoughbys in Derbyshire for some thirty years, and I have found many records in the Registers about Sir Henry’s family, there is nothing that positively relates to Sampson’s. Entries that could bear some resemblance to William Sampson or his family include:

²⁰ DNB: William Sampson (bap. 1635, d.1702), Church of England clergyman. David Souden writes that he was the younger son of William (c.1590-c.1636) ‘who achieved literary success’ and his wife, Helen (1603-1687); the lad went to Pembroke College aged 18; his mother Helen re-married in 1637.

²¹ DNB: Obediah Grew (bap. 1607, d.1689). Ann Hughes writes that he was Master of the grammar school at Atherstone, Warwicks, married Helen (widow of William) ‘who already had at least two sons, Henry and William’.

15 May 1631 Marriage William Sanderson of Rysley and Elizabeth Rossell of Breaston.
 31 Mar 1633 Bridget, the daughter of Tho. Sansome & Anne his wife, bapt.
 16 Apr 1667 Elizabeth, daughter of Mr John Sampson of Breaston and Elizabeth his wife, bapt.
 Dec 9 1667 Mr John Sampson of Breaston was buried.
 Oct 28 1668 Rebecca, filia de Elizabetha Sampson of Breaston, widow, buried.
 25 Feb 1670/1 Frances, daughter of Ms Elizabeth Sampson, sometime of Breaston, buried.
 April 1 1674 William Sanderson of Risley, buried [although this entry, and that of 15 May 1631, have a different surname, it is just possible that the name was misunderstood or miswritten in the entry].²²

I am unable to find any mention of a Sanderson or Rossell/Russell relating to Henry Willoughby and find it curious, therefore, that the wedding took place several miles away at Sir Henry's church at Wilne, although Risley and Breaston are adjoining villages each with their own church. This raises the questions: are Sanderson and Sampson the same man and was Hannah a second wife? And, if 'Elizabeth' is a family name, does that give the 'Elizabeth Sampson' entries a connection with William? I have carefully searched the original Wilne parish registers (covering Breaston and Risley) and found no other reference to Sanderson (or Rossell).

There was certainly a connection between Risley and Breaston: the Willoughby/Grey coat of arms is inscribed on a buttress at St Michael's and, in his will, Sir Henry left 'the town of Breaston a stock and bell' (subsequently installed in 1657, presumably by his executors).²³ I have found no evidence, however, of Sampson burials in All Saints, Risley or St Michael's, Breaston, and a search in St Chad's Church, Wilne (where many of Henry Willoughby's family are buried) has also proved fruitless. In Sampson's elegie

²² Derbyshire Archives, Matlock. Wilne records: D.2512 A/PI 1/1 (to 1624); D.2512 A/PI 1/2 (after 1625). (Microfiche spools 311, vols 1 and 2).

²³ Willoughby/Grey: Anne (the dedicatee of *The Vow Breaker*) married secondly, Anchitell Grey.

written for Henry's wife, Elizabeth, he refers to the church, with an additional marginal note, 'A famous Chappell, and the Tombe of his noble anceftors by him erected over her in the Parilh Church of Wilne in Derby-fhire'.²⁴

I have found reference to a Sir William Sampson of Epperstone near Nottingham whose daughter Amphelia married into the Clifton family some generations earlier. Sir William lived in one of the three manors [now known simply as 'The Manor'] and it remained in his family for six generations. Although I have searched for a connection with William Sampson, I have been unable to trace any evidence that he lived in the area. As the village of Epperstone is near Cotham, birthplace of Gervase Markham, I had hoped that a link would be found to connect Sampson with Markham.

It is most likely that Sampson was brought up and educated in south Nottinghamshire, but there is no firm evidence for or against this theory. His literary work has many classical references and it is therefore likely that he received a grammar school or university education, although I have been unable to find any confirmation. He is not listed in the alumni of Cambridge or Oxford; he may have attended nearby Repton or Derby, but my searches for the records of local grammar schools have been unfruitful.

The likelihood of William Sampson being a Nottinghamshire man is based on his familiarity with the history, geography and folk legend around Clifton Village. *The Vow Breaker* is set in 1560 and has two intertwined main themes: the first is based on a legend about 'the maid of Clifton', the second on the Siege of Leith in which many Nottinghamshire soldiers fought. Many of the soldiers and officers in Sampson's play

²⁴ Sampson, William. *Virtus Post Funera Vivit*. [London:] John Nor[ton], 1636. (On Elizabeth Willoughby, Firfst Wife to Henry Willoughby of Risley Baronet who lieth interr'd in the Parilh of Wilne in Derby-lhire.)

are from Nottingham, in particular Sir Gervase Clifton who plays an integral part throughout and comes from a long-established noble family from the village of that name, just south of the town. The miller comes from the village of Ruddington close by but, although the hill is still there, the mill has long gone and the only evidence of its existence is a modern bungalow named 'Mill Cottage'.

The story of the 'maid of Clifton' is the predominant theme of Sampson's play and one that was familiar to the people of south Nottinghamshire. According to the rector of St Mary's, Clifton in 1906, it was believed that the tradition of the 'maid of Clifton' was based on factual events, dating from the fifteenth century.²⁵ Referring to anticipated criticism of the 'truthfulness' of his play, Sampson replies

To those we answer, that ere they were born
The story that we glance at, then was worn
And held authentic ... (Prologue 13-15).

Many references to this legend may be seen in *The Vow Breaker*, but there are also some aspects of the play that came from a ballad, that itself must have been based on the traditional story. The story is not unknown even to present day villagers and it is most likely that Sampson, if he lived in south Nottinghamshire where the Clifton name was so respected, would certainly have been familiar with the tradition. The maid, Margaret (according to the Reverend Bruce), was thought to have been a descendant of the de Rhodes family (Gerard de Rhodes sold the manor to Sir Gervase de Clifton in 1272); she fell in love with a young man from a modest but good family with whom she shared a betrothal token. The young man, 'Bateman', serving as a squire to Sir Gervase

²⁵ Bruce, Rosslyn. *The Clifton Book (Nottingham)*. Nottingham: Saxton, 1906. pp. 23; 65-70.

Clifton, then went off to fight in the Wars of the Roses and returned as she was marrying another.

It is likely that Sampson had knowledge of the legend as he appears to use details in *The Vow Breaker* that are not in the 1603 ballad, *A Godly Warning for all Maidens*. For instance, in the play Bateman goes off to fight in a war, as in the legend, whereas in the ballad there is no mention of this, just an indication that after two months the maid ‘settled love and liking too / Upon another man’.⁹

It is known that Sampson’s play *The Vow Breaker* and his volume of poems were both published in 1636 and it may be assumed, therefore, were written while Sampson was working for Willoughby. It seems clear that Sampson was not only influenced by the legend of the ‘maid of Clifton’, but he was also very interested in the involvement of the Nottinghamshire Regiment in Scotland in 1560. My research has not revealed any documents that could suggest why he had such an interest in the battle at Leith. Unfortunately, military lists are generally unavailable for conflicts before 1642 and so it has not been possible for me to see whether Sampson had a personal interest in the battle; perhaps family history told of a relative who fought there.

I have not been able to find any reference to Sampson visiting Scotland or any mention of specific incidents that may have stirred his interest. England’s relationships with Scotland and with France have been considered to see whether there may have been any events that could have prompted Sampson to write about the Siege of Leith, a conflict

of some sixty or so years earlier (that Sampson inexplicably refers to as ninety years²⁷). With a Scottish king on the English throne, the news at the time may have been of the Thirty Years' War that had begun in 1618, when nearly ten thousand Scots were raised for French service, and this war and the involvement of Scotland with France may possibly have given the young William Sampson ideas for his play.²⁸ A possible clue as to when Sampson finished his play is seen from the lines in which Miles tells Ball that he will 'fly [to Ursula] on his return [from the war] with the verses out of new *Hero and Leander*' (2.1.66-68), apparently referring to a 'mock' poem by James Smith, probably dating from the early or mid-1630s.²⁹

It is known that Sampson was working with Markham in the early 1620s when they collaborated and published *Herod and Antipater* and he may have already been exploring his own literary work. Although I have not found any evidence, it is possible that at that time he was already moving among the literati of the day in the company of the much older and more experienced Markham.

Sampson's second major work, a volume of poems entitled *Virtus Post Funera Vivit*, may possibly give us some clues as to his friends and acquaintances.³⁰ There are nearly thirty dedications, poems, and anagrams, devoted to well-known (and not so well-known) people who died between 1608 and 1635. The earliest death mentioned of 1608 is that of the most important personage of the county, Elizabeth, Countess of

²⁷ Prologue, line 12 (see Commentary).

²⁸ Donaldson, Gordon. *Scotland James V-James VII*. Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1965. p. 256. [vol 3 of *Edinburgh History of Scotland*].

²⁹ Raylor, Timothy. *Cavaliers, Clubs, and Literary Culture: Sir John Mennes, James Smith, and the Order of the Fancy*. Newark: University of Delaware Presses, c.1994. p. 136.

Also: Roy Booth. 'Hero's Afterlife: "Hero and Leander" and "lewd unmannerly verse" in the late Seventeenth Century'. *EMLS*. 12.3 (Jan 2007), 4. 1-24.

³⁰ trans: 'Virtue outlives Death', a stock funeral phrase often seen on tombstones - and the motto of Nottingham City.

Shrewsbury, ‘Bess of Hardwick’, when Sampson was only eight years old. The date of the last known death is that of Sir Henry Agard of Foston, just a year before publication.

When I plotted these addresses on a map an interesting pattern was revealed: the majority of the people lived less than about ten miles from Nottingham and Derby, although there are some notable exceptions. Hardwick Hall, Bolsover Castle, Haddon Hall, for example, fall outside the area and this may be because they are the homes of the important and influential Shrewsbury/Cavendish family. Many of the people referred to in the poems have connections with each other but I have been unable to find their links with Sampson. It is possible that he made his choice of dedicatees at random, but unlikely because many of his verses indicate knowledge of the person. In order to develop knowledge of Sampson’s background it would be of interest and relevance to know whether he had met many or, indeed, any of the dedicatees of his poems, but I have been unable to find any evidence of relationships.

Although William Winstanley includes Sampson in his *Lives of the Most Famous English Poets*, describing him as having ‘flourisht’, he then mistakenly credits him with also having written *The Valiant Scot*.³² Sampson’s verses were not always appreciated, however: Thomas Pestell (1586-1667), writing his own *Elegie on the truly noble Katherine Countesse of Chesterfeild*. 1636, wrote

Silly Samson though in printed verse
Prophane or touch her glad enamour’d sheet
With his affrighting and defiling feet.

[p. 11 lines 14-16].

³¹ See Appendix for map.

³² Winstanley, William. *The Lives of the Most Famous English Poets, or the Honour of Parnassus*. London: Clark, 1687. p. 151. [*The Valiant Scot* by ‘J.W.’ was published in Edinburgh 1637.]

Hannah Buchan, editor of Pestell's works, suggests that there is 'perhaps some tincture of jealousy in his contempt'.

Sampson's literary style is praised by Sir Egerton Brydges in 1816: writing about *Virtus Post Funera Vivit* he expresses praise and appreciation for the elegiac verses, believing that Sampson has not deserved his 'obscurity' and linking him with Abraham Cowley as 'men of genius'.³⁴ Brydges is of the opinion that

there have been few writers in verse of his own date less noticed than William Sampson. [His] lines are surely as good as those of a large portion of the same day, whose names and works are familiar to us; and better than those of any of the wretched metaphysical scribblers, whose reputation was raised upon their faults. The truth is, that simplicity and natural force require a more genuine and acute feeling and taste to relish them, than is possessed by the bulk of readers who require the stimulus of artificial ornaments; the pungency of forced and distorted wit; and, like the vulgar in their admiration of painting, the glare of unchaste colouring. . . . But there is something so delicate and unobtrusive in true genius; something so much too nice for dull apprehensions to catch 35

It may be that a young Sampson met Henry Willoughby through Markham and the literary circle. Willoughby was certainly a patron of the arts, including of Michael Drayton and Phineas Fletcher. Fletcher is particularly interesting because, having graduated from Cambridge in Divinity, he was employed by Willoughby in Derbyshire from 1615 as chaplain, and from around 1622 in Norfolk as rector. Phineas Fletcher had a reputation as a poet even while at university and it could be speculated that around 1620 he was moving in the same circle as Markham and Sampson. It is likely that Willoughby met Sampson in the early 1620s and so he and Phineas Fletcher may both have been employed at Risley Hall at the same time. Phineas was also first cousin to

³³ Buchan, Hannah, ed. *The Poems of Thomas Pestell*. Oxford, Blackwell, 1940. pp. 11; 108.

³⁴ Abraham Cowley 1618-1667.

³⁵ Brydges, Sir Egerton. *Restituta; or Titles, Extracts, and Characters of Old Books in English Literature, revived*. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1816. pp. 321-329.

John Fletcher, respected playwright, who may well have been able to effect an introduction for Sampson into literary circles.

I have researched extensively in my endeavour to produce a complete biography for William Sampson. It would be helpful to know where Sampson met both Markham and Willoughby, where *The Vow Breaker* was performed and whether Sir Henry and Anne Willoughby were his patrons. Anne still lived with her father, although she was twenty-two when the play was published, and so presumably she was not in the position of being a patroness herself: perhaps Sampson just wanted to please her father by dedicating his play to her.

In conclusion, I am able to confirm very little about William Sampson and his background. It is known that he was alive for a period of over fifty years from about 1600 and, if it is assumed that his service was continuous, he spent most of his life with the Willoughby family, although it would appear likely that he had close connections with the South Nottinghamshire area as well as Derbyshire. In addition, it is known that when he was barely twenty-one Sampson collaborated with Gervase Markham and, at about the same time, he wrote a comedy, *The Widow's Prize*. The last known published works of William Sampson were in 1636, when both *The Vow Breaker* and *Virtus Post Funera Vivit* were published.

Performance of *The Vow Breaker*

The title page of the play proclaims that it was performed ‘at divers times ... with great applause’ but although I have made general searches in an endeavour to trace where these performances may have taken place, I have been unable to find any evidence. I have also been unsuccessful in my efforts to trace a performance of *The Vow Breaker* to the specific companies that produced Sampson and Markham’s *Herod and Antipater*, ‘acted at the Red Bull, by the Company of his Maiesties Revels’, and Sampson’s *The Widow’s Prize*, licensed ‘For the Prince’s Company’. Gerald Bentley suggests that as the title-page states that there is no mention of a specific London ‘troupe’, this may be indicative of a provincial performance.¹ Bentley is also of the opinion that the final scene in the play may not have widespread interest: ‘such irrelevancies ... surely would have little [appeal] in London’.

In his *Annals of English Drama 957-1700*, Alfred Harbage suggests that a performance date for *The Vow Breaker* may be from 1625 to 1636, but there is no supporting evidence for the earlier date.

In the early seventeenth century there were few purpose-built indoor theatres constructed away from the capital: the first was in Prescott, Lancashire; there was one in York and, exceptionally, two in Bristol. Those players who performed in London theatres continued to tour very extensively, especially during the summer when

¹ Bentley, Gerald Eades. *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*. 7 vols, London: Oxford University Press, 1967. vol 5. 1042-7.

² Harbage, Alfred. *Annals of English Drama 957-1700*. revised S. Schoenbaum. London: Methuen, 1964.

³ (a) Prescott: Paton, Maureen. *Shakespeare’s Globe goes North*. 30.03.07. www.telegraph.co.uk:

(b) York: REED;

(c) Bristol: Kinney, Arthur F. *A Companion to Renaissance Drama*, (Peter H. Greenfield. “‘The Actors are Come Hither’” Traveling Companies’). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004. p. 216.

playhouses were sometimes closed due to the threat of plague. Travelling players visited aristocratic households and private residences, such as the High Great Chamber of Hardwick Hall, where they often played before the household and invited guests. It is known that William Cavendish entertained in 'extraordinary magnificence and pomp' at Welbeck and Bolsover, even employing Ben Jonson to write two masques, *Love's Welcome at Welbeck* and *Love's Welcome at Bolsover*, which were staged at vast expense as part of the princely entertainment for King Charles and his Court during the royal progress through the north Midlands.⁴ Other noble households also provided lavish entertainments from time to time but research has revealed no hint of performances that may indicate that *The Vow Breaker* had been included in the programmes.

Players also performed wherever an appropriate venue could be found: in guildhalls and town halls, church halls and churches, from the back of carts as well as, according to James Fitzmaurice, gardens, alehouses and convents.⁵ Barbara Palmer has researched extensively into travelling performers in Derbyshire and West Riding during the 'early modern' period and, from all the data available, she questions 'the repeated assertion that players regularly stage plays at inns', pointing out that there is 'not a single extant record of professional players performing at inns in Derbyshire or the West Riding'.⁶ Writing in 2005, she questions why Gerald Bentley believes that 'the preferred auditorium seems to have been an inn' and why Andrew Gurr 'baldly' declares that

⁴ Pearson, John. *Stags and Serpents*. London: Macmillan, 1983. (repr. Bakewell, Derbys: Country Books for The Chatsworth House Trust, 2002). p. 54.

⁵ Fitzmaurice, James. 'Recent Developments in the Study of Seventeenth-Century Literature and Three Papers from the 2007 Margaret Cavendish Conference'. *Literature Compass*, 5/2, (2008), 339.

⁶ Palmer, Barbara D. 'Early Modern Mobility: Players, Payments, and Patrons'. *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 56, 3, (Fall 2005), 282; 284.

‘inns replaced guildhalls as the standard venue for plays under the Stuarts’. Palmer

states:

with twenty-four REED volumes of records for ten cities and twelve counties available in print, it is time to abandon the sacred myth of inns as the staging venue of choice for professional players.

From the evidence obtained, Palmer believes that players were professional entertainers, accustomed to travelling widely, often to the great houses (‘central to touring circuits’) where they were expected and where (unlike inns) their accommodation and stabling would be free and, in addition, they would receive a monetary reward ‘which is pure profit’.⁷ Palmer’s assertions are relevant when considering the possible venues for performances of *The Vow Breaker* as it could be expected that there would have been records of the players’ attendance in the accounts of the great houses.

Mark Brayshay, also writing in 2005, is of the opinion that a ‘surprisingly large corps of entertainers’ could travel widely to deliver their plays, as lengthy road journeys were unexceptional.⁸ Although there is no evidence available it is possible that, as Sampson’s play had much local interest, it may well have been performed in Nottingham: Brayshay points out that Nottingham and Coventry were both notable as being ‘places where visiting performers could expect the friendliest reception,... [and] stand out by far [as] the most popular venues for travelling companies of performers’.⁹

Palmer collected much of her data from careful examination of the Cavendish and Clifford household accounts, and her ‘inescapable conclusion’ was that travelling

⁷Palmer. ‘Early Modern Mobility’, 272.

⁸Brayshay, Mark. ‘Waits, musicians, bearwards and players: the inter-urban road travel and performances of itinerant entertainers in sixteenth and seventeenth century England’, *Journal of Historical Geography*. 31:3 (2005) 433.

⁹ - *ibid* - 435.

players were welcomed and that they were often booked to play, rather than arriving unannounced.¹⁰ I have not been able to find any reference to Sampson from examining the evidence produced by Palmer, particularly with regard to the Cavendish family who owned several houses in the Nottinghamshire area and were well known for the entertainments they presented. *The Vow Breaker* may well have been performed in one or more of the great houses where, according to Palmer's research of the pantry accounts, an audience of over a hundred would not be unusual.¹¹ To emphasise the importance and popularity of performances outside London, Palmer writes:

In that entertainment economy [marked by mobility and reciprocity], London's role is central but not exclusive. Provincial touring clearly contributed to professional practices and to the maintenance of competitive professional standards. Great houses formed part of lucrative playing routes, which were travelled regularly on what look to have been predictable calendars.¹²

It is known that Sir Henry Willoughby employed Sampson and that Sampson dedicated his play to Willoughby's daughter. I have been unable to ascertain, however, whether he was favoured by Willoughby's generosity as were, for example, Michael Drayton, Michael East and Phineas Fletcher but, if this were the case, he may have presented *The Vow Breaker* at the Willoughby family home at Risley.¹³ Unfortunately there are no extant household accounts to be searched. Brayshay refers to the importance of patronage and protection for player companies, believing that 'though technically regarded as part of their patron's household and entitled to wear their master's livery,

¹⁰ Palmer, 'Early Modern Mobility'. 273; 275.

¹¹ -ibid - 276.

¹² -ibid - 291.

¹³ Evidence of Willoughby's patronage:

(a) Michael Drayton - Edmund Malone et al. *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare*, 10 vols London F.C. & J. Rivington et al, 1821 vol 5. ['In one of the blank leaves before the book, 'The Batail of Agincourt, Nymphidia, etc. the author has written as follows 'To the noble Knight, my most honoured friend Sir Henry Willoughby, one of the selected patrons ...'];

(b) Michael East. *The Third Set of Books*. London: Thomas Snodham, 1610;

(c) Phineas Fletcher. *The way to Blessedness or Commentary on the First Psalme*. London: I. D[awson], 1632.

players expected and received no stipend'.¹⁴ It may well be, therefore, that Sampson did enjoy Willoughby's patronage and was, at some time, actually employed by him as author, playwright. Henry Willoughby would also have benefited from such a relationship as patrons of players were, according to Brayshay, 'unquestionably motivated' by their interest in artistic culture, but were also fully aware of and exploited the political advantages of being associated with popular entertainment.¹⁵

Festivals and midsummer celebrations also offered opportunities for entertainment but, although I have searched thoroughly in the Local Studies Libraries of Nottingham and Derby, I have been unable to find the names of any theatrical companies that visited the counties during the first half of the seventeenth century, and no reference to Sampson or the professional companies linked with his name. Examination of household accounts of the aristocratic families living in the region has also proved unsuccessful.

There is evidence that Sampson's play may have been performed, or referred to, during the eighteenth century and, maybe, even later. In a well-researched article in *Theatre Notebook*, Philip Ayres refers to performances of plays in 1699 and 1728 at Bartholomew Fair, 1715 (Southwark Fair), and 1733 (Tottenham Court Fair), with titles that bear reference to Bateman.¹⁶ Ayres makes note that several cast members from these plays are also listed in Sampson's *The Vow Breaker*, not only principal characters such as Bateman, Anne and 'German', but lesser names like Gossips Prattle and Longtongue, and Queen Elizabeth. Ayres suggests that as the entertainments at the Fairs

¹⁴ Brayshay, 'Waits, musicians . . . 4 4 4 .

¹⁵ - *ibid* - 451.

¹⁶ Ayres, Philip P. 'Production and Adaptation of William Sampson's *The Vow Breaker* (1636) in the Restoration'. *Theatre Notebook* 27 (1973) 147-149.

lasted for no more than an hour, the plays presented were probably a ‘modified version’ of Sampson’s.

Ayres also mentions a copy of *The Vow Breaker*, held in the T.C. Bald Collection at Melbourne University, and not only details with precision his own comprehensive observations but also cites W.S. Clark and G. Blakemore Evans. I should like to make some additional comments to supplement those of Ayres.¹⁷

From the handwritten revisions on the Melbourne text it could be presumed that it was used as a prompt copy, and the comments appear to suggest handwriting of the early eighteenth century.¹⁸ Some stage directions have been written in and several lines of the text have been firmly crossed out. I would suggest that one line may have been deleted to avoid embarrassment to an actor of mature years playing ‘Bateman’, and this could suggest that there was at least an intention to perform the play:

[Gl] Anne [looking at Bateman’s picture]

Another *Ganimedel*

This eye, and yon’d are one? This front, that lip

This cheek; a little ruddier fhowes then that,

The very afhie paleness of his face,

[The moflie downe still growing on his chin, =DELETED in Melbourne copy]

And fo his Alabafter finger pointing

To the bracelet, whereon the peece of gold

We broke betweene us hangs.¹⁹

Ayres refers to some amendments in the text where the alterations may be

¹⁷I am indebted to Dr Pam Pryde, Curator, Special Collections, Baillieu Library, University of Melbourne, for so generously sending me a copy of this text.

¹⁸I am indebted for his advice to Dr Charles Kelham, Borough Archivist and History Officer, Doncaster Archives.

¹⁹Spellings and punctuation are as in the original Melbourne copy, before the hand-written amendments were made. The Melbourne copy is very similar to that in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

‘for the sake of something other than economy’. The point of these would certainly seem to be to avoid offence. Ayres specifically refers to a half-line cut in sig. D4V.

Bo. Come, come, I have daunc’d till every joynt about me growes Itiffe [but that which I should be! =DELETED] to bed wench, the groome he’s out-gone thee, he’s warming the fheetes the first night I faith.

In addition, Ayres refers to sig. G 1v:

Ba. Diftemper not your felfe at fancies;
Your time haftens to maturity,
Y’re very big, and may endanger your fruit; [‘Life’ substituted for ‘fruit’]
If you give way to palfions.

To these two examples may be added the references to Castor, Bollux and Pollux on sig.

G4r and G4V.

Pra. I furely Gollip, and Hop their wrinckles with too, and faith *Artimedorus*, in his third booke of his Modemes, if borne under *Castor, and Pollux*, ftore of children.

Mag. [Caster, and Bollux? =DELETED]

Pra. [You fpeake broad Goflip, ’tis *Pollux*. =DELETED]

Mag. [W hy Bollux be it then =DELETED]; furely *Barren* was not borne under *Bollux*, [B scratched out to read P] for she has bene married this feven yeares, and never had childe,

Bar. By your favour Goflip *Mag-py*, you were borne under *Caster*, and *Bollux* [B scratched out to read P] then, for you had two children before you weare married.²⁰

A further passage (sig. H2r) is of interest because, as it is ‘boxed’, it may suggest that this was also to have been omitted in a performance, as being thought too sexually suggestive:

Pra. By this dyet-bread *Artimedorus* faith fo;

²⁰ Alterations as per the Melbourne copy.

marke Miftris *Urfula*, to dreame to have Lyce,
eyther in head or body in fome quantity fignifies
a proper man well appointed; [‘BOXED’]

and by this drinke I dream’d my husband when he came firft a woing;...

Ayes refers to many of the lines that are cut and often there may well be a reason for this, as has already been suggested, but a twenty-line ‘boxed’ cut at the end of the second Act [E3V] would appear to be unexpected. Anne mockingly responds to Old Bateman after she hears about his son’s suicide and then, in the apparently deleted passage, she sweeps aside Ursula’s own distress and fear of Bateman’s ghost, coldly assuring her that she will sleep soundly ‘and let consequents prove the reft’. This boast of indifference proves to be only temporary. These few lines would appear to be very important if the play were to be performed because, immediately after this passage, the audience would see and be able to contrast Anne’s terrified reaction when the ghost actually confronts her. This same deleted passage would also inform the audience that Anne’s new husband is leaving for a year, this being the only reference in the play to his departure.

As further support that the play was performed, R. A. Foakes refers to a woodcut that illustrates four incidents in the play and shows a picture of Anne in a substantial tester-bed, suggesting that this ‘may have some relevance to the staging of the play’.²¹

Frederick Keifer suggests that although the bed looks large and cumbersome in the

²¹ Foakes, R.A. *Illustrations of the English Stage 1580-1642*. Sandford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985. p. 141.

picture, it would have been 'entirely possible' for carpenters to assemble a manageable version, and perhaps even carry or pull it out on to the stage.²²

Philip Ayres states that 'the main plot of *The Vow Breaker* ... is known [sic] to be dependent on an extant ballad', but he does not reference this claim and, in fact, there is no evidence that this is the case. The only 'evidence' that may have suggested this to Ayres is that in the Prologue to his play Sampson himself says that before he receives any criticism, he should point out that 'ere [the critics] were bom / The story that we glance at then was worn / And held authentic' [Prologue 13-14]. Sampson never makes specific mention of an earlier ballad - or, indeed, the earlier legend of 'the maid of Clifton'. The ballad registered in 1603 with a similar theme could suggest that this certainly may have been a source for his play, but not necessarily the only source and, in fact, Sampson refers to Bateman going away to the war - an event mentioned in the traditional tale but not referred to in the ballad.

Companies of players toured extensively during the early seventeenth century, and it could be presumed, therefore, that there were many opportunities for performances of *The Vow Breaker* to take place, but I have been unable to find any evidence to support this theory. From the dedications to the poems in Sampson's *Virtus Post Funera Vivit*, it would appear that he was acquainted with many of the important families in the counties of Nottingham and Derby, but I have not found any records to indicate that *The Vow Breaker* was performed in any of their houses.

²² Kiefer, Frederick. 'Curtains on the Shakespearean Stage'. *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*. 20 (Jan 2007) 151-2.

Synopsis of *The Vow Breaker*

ACT 1

Act 1 Scene 1

Anne and Young Bateman exchange sweet nothings prior to him going off to fight in Scotland and Bateman expresses the hope that Anne's father (Boote) will lose his disapproval for him as a suitor. He is reassured by Anne's sworn devotion, although Anne's cousin, Ursula, warns Bateman that women are fickle while, at the same time, Anne fears that 'beauties' may distract him while he is away. Young Bateman and Anne divide a gold token as proof of their shared love and commitment. Old Bateman and Boote argue about Young Bateman, and Anne's father makes it clear that he wants her to marry wealthy, elderly, Jermaine.

Sir Gervaise Clifton discusses the recruitment of Miles, Ball and Joshua. Miles, a local miller, declares his (unrequited) love for Ursula.

Scene 2

Grey and Argyll discuss the Scottish noble supporters of the Catholic Queen Mary who are to be sent to Elizabeth as hostages, and soldiers from Nottingham discuss a plan to attack the French-held Leith with Clifton, who is suspicious of a Peace Treaty from Queen Mary. Ball, Miles and Joshua discuss the war, and the French hold their ground at Leith despite the English attack. Joshua talks about the cat that he has taken with him - later to be put on trial for killing a mouse on a Sunday.

Scene 3

Grey and Argyll report that there is a successful attack by the English on Leith, although the French are still there, and Young Bateman is commended for his contribution in the battle.

Scene 4

Ursula is very disapproving of Anne's recent betrothal to Jermane. Anne excuses her behaviour by saying that Bateman is only a young boy and that, for her, wealth is everything. Jermane protests that he will not marry Anne if she is already promised to Bateman, but Anne denies this. Her father is delighted with the engagement, but Ursula foresees doom.

ACT 2

Act 2 Scene 1

Martigues and D'Oysel plan to disguise themselves as women in order to attack the English and they hide from Clifton and his soldiers who are also planning an attack, but on the French. Bateman asks leave to go home to see Anne; Miles sends a message of love to Ursula; Ball and Joshua send messages home. The Frenchmen appear dressed as women, are taunted by the soldiers with bawdy jokes and, in the ensuing fight, they are overcome and taken prisoner by Clifton who swears revenge on the French.

Scene 2

Ursula expresses disapproval about Anne's inconstancy and Bateman is surprised on his return by the reaction he receives from friends and his father. Ursula tells him that a

wedding is in progress and he sees Anne with Jermane. He cannot believe her disloyalty, particularly when she first denies knowing him, and then warns that her father will prosecute him if he does not leave. Bateman reminds Anne of their oath and the shared gold, but she explains that she is already married to wealthy Jermane. Bateman is hurt and angry and threatens her that 'dead or alive, 'tis I must enjoy thee'. Anne is very upset by his words, and when Boote finds out that Bateman has been there, he swears revenge.

Scene 3

Clifton fights and disarms Martigues, and is praised by Grey when he sends the Frenchman back to Leith with the request that, in his turn, he be merciful to his prisoners.

Scene 4

Young Bateman, melancholic and depressed, desires death and, subsequently, hangs himself. Old Bateman condemns Anne for her behaviour, and is distraught when he finds his son. He swears vengeance on Anne and Boote and is disgusted when they appear and laugh at the dead youth, although Old Bateman refuses to curse her, believing that his son would not wish it.

ACT 3

Act 3 Scene 1

Anne alone sees Young Bateman's ghost and now feels shame for her actions. Ursula attempts to console her, explaining that ghosts are just dreams, but the ghost tells Anne

that there is no escaping him and reminds her of the threat to 'enjoy⁵ her 'alive or dead⁵ although he tells Anne that because he knows that she is pregnant he will not harm her. Her father tries to console Anne, and asks Ursula to watch her.

Scene 2

Ball and Miles endeavour to persuade Joshua not to hang his cat for the offence of killing a mouse on a Sunday, and Grey, Argyll and Clifton are witnesses to the 'case⁵. Joshua reads the charge and Grey begs pardon for the cat. Rouge Croix brings news of Bishop Monluc who announces peace proposals by the French Queen to Elizabeth. Grey decrees that an assault be made on Leith.

Scene 3

Anne and Ursula overhear Old Bateman talking to his son's portrait and Anne tries to console him by professing her regret for her behaviour. Old Bateman, in his turn, tries to comfort Anne, believing that that would have been his son's wish. The ghost appears and reminds Anne that he is waiting, but Old Bateman refuses to accept that Anne is able to see his son's ghost.

ACT 4

Act 4 Scene 1

7th May 1560, the English plan to attack Leith.

Scene 2

The report of the battle as it constantly changes; the English attack, the French defend. Martigues and Grey meet as a message arrives from Elizabeth to stop fighting for the rest of the day and Monluc confirms that Mary also orders that the conflict stops. Grey and Monluc travel to Edinburgh for instructions and Clifton, Martigues and D'Oysel agree to be 'friends' until 7 o'clock that evening.

Scene 3

Chattering women who are talking about dreams attend Anne, who has just given birth to a daughter. Boote admires the baby but Anne is in despair and talking about dying. She denies that she had a 'dream' but talks of a peaceful vision. While the women drink and then fall asleep, Ursula watches and then she, too, sleeps. The ghost enters to claim Anne who leaves her bed and goes with him. Boote, Ursula and the women look for her and she is found drowned. Old Bateman arrives, talking to his son's portrait and, although both fathers first blame each other for the tragedies, they become reconciled as each recognises the other's distress and pain.

ACT 5

Act 5 Scene 1

Clifton reads out the Articles, the Treaty of Leith, that state the conditions for peace, to which Martigues agrees. Ball refers to the 'trial' of Joshua's cat and Joshua, who is drunk, talks about how much he enjoyed the war. The English and French enter and embrace in friendship, and Clifton and Grey indicate that they appreciate the good food

provided by the Scots. Martigues and D'Oysel are given safe conduct to Queen Elizabeth, and Argyll, Clifton and Grey also travel to Nottingham to meet the queen.

Scene 2

Miles and Ball talk about entertaining the queen with a puppet play, and argue about the casting and costumes. Miles sings to Ursula about Bateman and Anne, asking her how it would have been if he and Ursula had died in a similar situation. When Boote arrives, Ursula confuses him by pretending that Miles is Bateman's ghost.

Scene 3

Queen Elizabeth discusses the Charter to be granted to the Mayor of Nottingham. She confers a knighthood on Grey, invites Clifton to be the Deputy Lieutenant of Nottingham, and thanks Argyll. She then invites her guests to dine with her.

Such is the warres, where men both wyn and looesl: the story of a siege.

The Treaty of Edinburgh of 1560 that drew the Siege of Leith to a close, led directly to the eventual fall of the Catholic Church in Scotland and brought to an end the three hundred year 'Auld Alliance' between Scotland and France. It was a turning point in Scottish history and marked the beginning of a new relationship between England and Scotland.

In 1636 William Sampson published his play *The Vow Breaker, or The Fair Maid of Clifton*, in which an old Nottinghamshire legend is linked with the Siege of Leith. Although there is no evidence to suggest that Sampson had read any accounts of the siege except that of Holinshed, there are contemporary reports available and I shall compare the historical details in Sampson's play with these accounts. *The Vow Breaker* was written about sixty years after the event, and the reports to be examined are those of a French Ambassador, an English poet (both of whom were personally involved in the siege), Holinshed - who collated the information then available, a bishop who wrote a history of Scotland, and Queen Elizabeth's official state papers.

The French Ambassador, Jacques de La Brosse, who previously held the position during Henry VIII's 'rough wooings', arrived in Scotland as ambassador to the queen regent, Mary of Guise, in September 1559.³ His daily journal tells the story of the siege of Leith

¹Churchyard, Thomas. *The Firste parte of Churchyardes Chippes. Book 1 The Siege of Leeth*. London: Thomas Marshe, 1575. (Line 483. EEBO.) [Hereafter referred to as C].

²(a) Bain, J. ed. *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots 1547-1603*, (vol 1), Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House. [Hereafter referred to as CSPS].

(b) Stevenson, J. ed. *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series of the reign of Elizabeth, 1559-1560*. London: Longman, Green, 1865. [Hereafter referred to as CSPF].

³Widow of James V of Scotland and mother of Queen Mary of Scotland and France.

and covers the period from 22nd January to 15th June 1560.⁴ An article published in *The English Historical Review* indicates that 'A.J.G.' considers that the *Journal* of Jacques de La Brosse is a 'most interesting and valuable' document. He writes,

The siege of Leith is the centre of interest, but is written not from the inside of the besieged fortress but from the castle of Edinburgh, where the queen lived and died unmolested by the English and covenanting army. With its help we can follow the diplomatic and military struggle day by day ... The correspondence between the statements of the Journal and the extracts from the Calendars is remarkably close ... The account of the siege of Leith is full of interest and, though the tone is professional and businesslike, there are many picturesque details ... The book will take its place as a first-rate authority for a critical moment in the history of the two countries.⁵

Professor Barrow describes the journal as 'a report on conditions in Scotland, 1559-60, prepared for Queen Mary and Francis I', and believes it to have historical value.⁶

Thomas Churchyard (c. 1520-1604) was an English author and poet with a long military history, serving in the Low Countries, the Battle of Pinkie in 1547 and, under Lord Grey, with the English army sent to release Leith from the French. His poem about the siege appears to have been written shortly after its conclusion, 'For this was done, as there I saw it then / And time but shorte, I had to vse my penne'.⁷ The eighty verses of *The Schole of Warre* describe the skirmishes that took place between the French who occupied Leith and the Scottish Reformers supported by the English army, who were determined to remove them. *The Siege of Leith*, the 'Firste Parte' of *Churchyardes Chippes*, was published in 1575.

The *Chronicles* of Raphael Holinshed (c. 1525-1580?), 'First compiled by Raphaell Holinshed, and by him extended to the yeare 1577', were revised before the publication

⁴ Dickinson, Gladys. *Two Missions of Jacques de la Brosse*. Edinburgh: University Press for the Scottish History Society, 1942. [Hereafter referred to as B].

⁵ A.J.G. *The English Historical Review*. 58 (1943) 249-250.

⁶ Barrow, Geoffrey W.S. *The English Historical Review*. 75 (1960) 152-153.

⁷ Churchyard, 650-651.

of the second edition in 1587.⁸ Sampson has modelled part of the military scenes in his play on Holinshed: some speeches appear to be copied verbatim from the *Chronicles*.

John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, was a friend and defender of Mary, Queen of Scots, supporting her during her imprisonment in England. *The History of Scotland*, written in Latin while Leslie was in England, began with the death of James I and continued until 1561. It was printed in Rome in 1578, translated into Scots by a monk in 1596, but not published until the nineteenth century when one hundred copies only were printed in 1829 for the Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh.⁹

I have examined the Calendars of State Papers for 1560, with particular regard to those of Queen Elizabeth's Foreign Series and those relating to Scotland, and compared these with the other accounts being examined.

Following the wars in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries between the kingdoms of Scotland and England, Scotland's independence from England was acknowledged.

There were many conflicts between England and France throughout the period referred to as the Hundred Years' War, during which Scotland formed an alliance with France against their mutual enemy England - an association that became known as The Auld Alliance. This alliance was strengthened with the marriage of the young Scottish queen, Mary, to the French Dauphin in 1558.

⁸Fleming, A. ed. *Holinshed Raphael, The Third volume of Chronicle..* . (1577; 1586.), 1587, 2nd edition. EEBO.

⁹Thomson, T. ed. *The History of Scotland from the death of King James / in the year M.CCC.XXXVI, to the year M.D.LXI.* by John Lesley, Bishop of Ross. Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh) Scotland, 1830. [Hereafter referred to as L].

By the early sixteenth century the question of religion in Europe had become of great importance. In England, the supporters of the reformed religion, the Protestants, had become increasingly influential under Henry VIII, but Queen Mary Tudor had re-established the state of Catholic England. In 1543 the new queen of Scotland was Mary, baby daughter of James V, for whom the regent was the heir presumptive, the Protestant earl of Arran. He converted to the Catholicism of James in order to increase his influence, and he was instrumental in Mary being sent to France to be betrothed to the Dauphin Francis, thus breaking the marriage treaty with Henry's son Edward. The gift of the duchy of Chatelherault later persuaded Arran to renounce the regency in 1554 in favour of the young queen's mother, Mary of Guise, who was determined that her daughter should inherit a Catholic Scotland and have the support of France against the challenges of the English, as well as feared Protestants such as Wishart and Knox.

Scotland was already being torn apart by the struggle for power: on the one side by Chatelherault and many lords who were sympathetic to the beliefs of the Reformers and, in fierce opposition, by the chancellor Cardinal Beaton, loyal to Mary of Guise, a staunch Catholic and supporter of France. There was increasing hostility to the queen regent especially after the marriage of her daughter into the Catholic French royal family. The Scottish Parliament agreed that Francis should be offered the 'crown matrimonial' and this granted him the title of King of Scotland. Only a year later, the death of the French king gave the young couple the dual title of King and Queen of France and of Scotland. Bishop Lesley sums up the situation:

And he [Francis] hearing of the troubles than being in Scotlande, fend ane wyse and vailyeant capitane, called Monfieur de la Broche, and the bischope of Ameanis, with tow doctors of theologie, to aftift the Quene regent with thair counfall, for pecefeing of the tmbles within Scotlande, quha arrivit at Leithe in the moneth of September; and in the meintyme, the French men was fortefying

the toun of Leithe, to the effect thay might make refidence thairintill, to refift all
alfaltis that might be maid aganis thame. [L. 278].

With the death of Mary Tudor and England again a Protestant country, Mary of Guise called upon additional French troops to assist her in Scotland in controlling the disturbances between the Reformers and the Catholics, and in repelling the English, who had been asked for help by the Scottish Protestants. Chatelherault, previously a supporter of the queen regent, later abandoned Catholicism and turned against his queen. The Protestants in Scotland were in ascendancy but the queen regent still held power during the absence of her daughter who was in France. At last Elizabeth responded to the Scottish Protestants' appeal and sent an English fleet under Winter to the Forth in January 1560 and an army under Lord Grey in March, in order to help disperse the French troops from their established stronghold of the fortified town of Leith, 'but principallie becaufe the feared the halfard of hir owne realme and eftate, in cafe the French men war fuffered to make refidence in that realme'.¹⁰

It is this situation that William Sampson introduces into his play. The army, led by Lord Grey of Wilton, attacks Leith and, after a succession of bloody battles over a period of some months with thousands of lives lost, overcomes the French troops. The subsequent Treaty of Edinburgh of 1560 requires the complete withdrawal of the French and peace to be declared between Scotland, France and England.

In actual fact the English did not overcome the French and there was no obvious victor in the Siege of Leith. After the death of Mary of Guise on the 10th June, negotiations took place for a treaty between the French and the English and this was finalised on the

¹⁰Lesley, 280.

6th July - although never actually ratified by Queen Mary of Scotland. Before she died the queen regent made her views on England absolutely clear - and his entry suggests that John Lesley was in agreement with her:

[She] fend for the Duike of Chattilliro and all the lordis of Scotland that was in the toune of Edinburgh and campte; quha come to hir castell of Edinburgh, quhair Iho maid unto thame ane godlie and wife exhortatione; perfuading thame to unitie and concord with thair ancient friend and confiderattis of France ... and fhew unto thame that Ingland ufed thame onelie bot as infrumentis to ferve thair owine tume; and the fupport quhilk thay had fende to expel the Frenche men was onelie in refpect of thair owne faiftie, and not for the weill of any Scottis man [L. 286].

Elizabeth was eager to begin negotiations after the queen regent's death as she was fearful that a delay would encourage the French king to ask for Spanish help and, in addition, she was most anxious that her army return to England.

In order to consider Sampson's version of the siege, I shall now examine the events as portrayed through his characters in relation to the accounts recorded by La Brosse, Churchyard, Holinshed, Lesley, and in the State Papers.

The second scene of Act 1 opens with Lord Grey emphasising his position within the army, and discussing the identity of the Scottish 'hostages' with the earl of Argyll:

Grey As far as my commission, Argyll,
I have proceeded. [1.2.1 -2].

Thomas Churchyard refers to 'Lord Gray the chiefe', and his Commission is mentioned in the Journal of Jacques de La Brosse:

That same day [7 February] Lord Grey, warden of the East and Middle Marches of England, wrote a letter to Lord Home, warden of the East March on the Scottish side, in which he informed him that he had been appointed to this office by the Queen, his mistress. [B. 71].

This information is confirmed in a footnote to a document listed in the Calendar of

Foreign State Papers:

Instructions for Lord Grey of Wilton.

1. According to the authority given him by Letters Patent, whereby he is constituted Warden of the East and Middle Marches, he shall repair to his charge, and see the same governed according to the ancient orders of the Borders.

6. He shall favour and encourage all borderers who are disposed to take part in the liberty of Scotland against the French; and show the reverse to those that neglect it; and in all other things he is to follow the tenor of his commission, and such commandments as he shall receive from the Lord Lieutenant.¹¹

In his opening speech in the play, Grey reminds Argyll: ‘Dunbar can witness where we skirmished last’.¹² This conflict is referred to by Churchyard:

The maner thus, Before Dunbar they paste
Where issued out, the French a silly bande
On horse and foote, and not requiring faste
To take me thought, the skirmishing in hand;
And thus a while, both parties still did stand,
Till cankred hate had kindled malice newe,
And bade our men, in field their foes pursewe.
But in the ende, a few were hurt or slaine
They driuen in, and none that skirmishe would,
The campe marcht throw, & did no while remaine
Before Dunbar, the troth thereof is tould

[C. 36-46].

It is seen from the State Papers that Grey describes the success of the skirmish at

Dunbar in his report of March 3^{1st} to Norfolk:

To-day passing Dunbar on our march, I sent 50 or 60 foot with Sir Henry Percy's light horse to occupy Dunbar, till our rear, &c. was past. The French had 50 horse and 200 foot in their trenches, but though offered fair play, would not issue. For my son with 30 men going nearer than near enough, they discharged their pieces almost in their beards ... We are now at Linteme brigges*, without loss of man, woman, child, horse, bag or baggage.

[CSPS 705 p. 343].

¹¹ CSPF, Footnote to ii; 700; 357; Feb 8.

¹² Sampson, 1.2.7.

♦Linteme brigges - Linton Brigges, ie (East) Linton, c.8km (5m) west of Dunbar.

Grey continues in his first speech to ask about the names of the hostages that have been requested. As early in the year as February 4th, Randolph asks Sadler and Croft ‘The lords wish to know which of the 12 hostages the Queen will choose, to avoid the charge of bringing all’.¹³ From Norfolk’s communication to Cecil of February 8th the suggested list of pledges may be seen, ‘thinking those named herein most meet’:

1. the Duke of Chastelherault’s 2nd son
2. the Earl of Argyll’s father’s brother’s son
3. the Earl of Glencaim’s son James Conyngham
4. the Earl of Menteith’s son George Graham
5. the Lord Ruthven’s son Archibald Ruthven
6. the lord James’s brother [uterine] Robert Douglas [CSPS 646 p. 312].

John Lesley makes it clear that the young men are to be sent to England as evidence of the Scottish nobles’ support of the English against the French:

the loirdis of Scotlande entered pledges within Ingland, quha remained quhill eftir the deceis of the King of France. The pledges war

David Hammiltoun, third fone to the Duik of Chattilliro,
ane uther called Campbell, coufing to the Erie of Argyle,
Robert Douglas, brodir to the priour of Sanct Androis, and laird of Lochleavin,
and ane fone of the Lorde Ruthvenis. [L. 280-281].

It would appear that the Duke of Chatelherault, as heir presumptive to the Scottish throne, was having trouble deciding which of his sons he would be prepared to send away. His eldest son, James, was 23 years old, his second, John, was 21, his third son, David [no birth date], and the youngest, Claud, 14 years old. Presumably he decided that his heir James, 3rd Earl of Arran, could not be sent, and that John could also be useful to him in Scotland; the decision would finally have been between his two youngest sons: David must have been about 16 years old and so, in the end, as can be confirmed by the state papers, his father decided to send Claud away. Lesley has only

listed four young ‘pledges’: George Graham has been left off the list, as has James Cunningham, but Ruthven’s son has been included.

Holinshed is quite confident as to the names on his list of hostages:

Thursday the fourth of April, five young gentlemen, appointed to passe into England for pledges . . . Their names were as follows.

The Lord Claud Hamilton fourth sonne unto the duke of Chateau le rault
Robert Douglas halfe brother to the lord James Steward
Archebald Campbell lord of Loughennell
George Gream second sonne to the earle of Monteith
James Coningham sonne to the earle of Glencame [p. 1187 lines 48-58].

Sampson, however, appears to have copied, or mis-copied, his list from Holinshed:

Grey I require the hostages be delivered
Twixt England and the federary lords.

Argyll Peruse this beadroll from Duke Chatelherault
Wherein their names are. Their persons attend
At Inchkeith and, with willingness, are bound
To attend the mighty Queen of England.

Grey Lord Claud Hambleton fourth son of the Duke
Robert Dowglasse brother to the Lord James Stuart
Archibald Dowglasse Lord of Loughennell
George Gram second son to the Earle of Menteich
James Coningham son to the Earl of Glencome [1.2.7-18].

Sampson has omitted to state that Robert Douglas is the half-brother (‘brother uterine’) of the ‘Lord James Steward’, and he appears to have confused the name for ‘Archebald Campbell of Lochennell’, calling him ‘Archibald Dowglasse’. The State Papers refer to ‘the Earl of Argyll’s father’s brother’s son, Mr Alexander Campbell’ whereas Holinshed describes him as ‘Archebald Campbell of Lochennell’. It has not been possible to identify an Alexander Campbell of Lochennell (or, correctly, Lochynnell, or Lochnell) with the described parentage, as Argyll’s father appears to have had only one

brother, John (Lochnell), and he died without male descendants.¹⁴ However, there was an Alexander Campbell of about the correct age, who was a minor in 1560 and loyal to the Earl of Argyll. This Alexander was appointed Protestant Bishop of Brechin, although there is no evidence that he was one of the young hostages of Leith.

It would appear from the state papers that Holinshed and, therefore, Sampson, have an incomplete list. Although Holinshed refers to the 'hostages' as young gentlemen and it is indicated from these documents that they are, indeed, young people, the youngest only five years old, it is not clear why these particular names should appear on a list to be taken as pledges by England, as their Scottish noblemen fathers are all members of the Congregation in its endeavour, with the English, to repel the French from Scotland.

It is reported in a letter from Norfolk to Cecil that, in a letter dated 26th March from Cecil, and recorded on 1st April, the names of the pledges are confirmed, with firm instructions as to their continuing education: 'The hostages are in Mr Wynter's possession ... It would be to the Queen's honour to have them, 'being children', well brought up at 'schole' and have learning either in Cambridge or Oxford, which their parents have earnestly required at my hands ... Signed, Norfolk'. It may be seen from this list that Chatelherault has substituted his younger son for the elder and it also gives advice as to where the young men are presently residing:

1. The Duke of Chatelherault's 4th son, Lord Claude, aged 14 years: *in Canterbury*
2. The Earl of Argyle's father's brother's son, Mr Alexander Campbell, and
3. The Lord James brother uterine, Mr Robert Douglas, both at men's state: *in some college at Cambridge*.
4. The Earl of Glencaim's son, Mr James Cunyngham, as man grown: *Lord Wharton*

¹⁴Anderson, William. *The Scottish Nation* including surnames, families, literature, etc. 9 vols. Edinburgh: Fullarton & Co, 1862. vol. 1, 569.

5. The Earl of Menteith's son, Mr George Graham, 5 years old: *Dean of Durham*
6. The Lord Ruthven's son, Mr Archibald Ruthven, aged 14 years: *Dean of Westminster*¹⁵ [707 p. 344 Apr 1].

This list is confirmed on April 15th in a letter from Norfolk to Cecil who explains, 'of their qualities or how they have profited in learning, I cannot inform you. I pray you send word how I shall send them up'.¹⁶ Further information is given of the hostages on the 21st April when the Earl of Menteith is expressing concern that 'his son for his tender years' sake may remain near the border, that he may the better send some of his [?family] to see and hear oftener from him'.¹⁷ It is clear that these six young men were, indeed, the 'pledges' referred to, and there is no obvious reason why Holinshed (and Sampson) left out the additional name. Lord Ruthven appears accepting of his son being 'one of the pledges for the contract betwixt the two realms' although he does make some specific requests of Cecil as early as February 28th:

As I would have him nourished and brought up in the fear of his Lord God. I will desire you to move the Queen that he may be 'put to the scole in Cambreche [Cambridge] upon my expens', and obtain her writing to the Duke to send him there. 'Because the boy is presentlie heir, and does no guid bot tynis [loses] tyme'. [CSPS 667 p. 324 Feb 28].

The destination for the hostages appears to be somewhere in England. In his communication to the Privy Council of the 29th February, Norfolk admits to having spent

three days in conference with these Scottish lords, . . . at last we came to debate the conditions whereon their hostages should remain in England; . . . they shall have their hostages ready to be put on board one of our ships in the Frith and transported hither. [CSPS 670 p. 327 Feb 29].

¹⁵ Italics as they appeared in the list.

¹⁶ CSPS, 733, Apr 15.

¹⁷ - *ibid* - 744, Apr 21.

Sampson is clear that he believes the hostages were to be taken to England, but this suggestion may very well have come from Holinshed:

Grey . . . Herald at Arms! Conduct these noble pledges from the red Braes to Inchkeith. See 'em delivered to James Croft and George Howard, knights, from thence to be embarked for England. [1.2.20-23].

Holinshed explains that on the 4th April 'they were brought up to salt Preston, and remained there that night'. Although, on 'Saturday the sist of Aprill, being Palmesundaie even, the campe raised from salt Preston, and marched forwards . . . the same day the Scottish hostages were imbarcked to passe into England'. However, Sir James Croft and Sir George Howard (referred to by Grey in his speech) were at that time attending the Queen Regent and Rouge Croix was accompanying them.^{1&}

Sampson refers to 'Two thousand hardy Scots' to bring the total of the English army to eight thousand, but there are many conflicting reports as to the actual number of soldiers involved.¹⁹ On February 20th, Norfolk wrote to Cecil advising him that 'at least 4000 foot are needed for the exploit into Scotland [and] we have put 1000 more in readiness'.²⁰ Jacques de La Brosse, however, reports that on the 1st April

the Queen [Regent] produced a letter from the Earl of Bothwell, in which he reported that he had heard that the English army consisted of twenty-five ensigns* of foot, seven hundred pioneers, and they were to raise five hundred in Scotland, five hundred demi-lances, and four thousand men who were coming by sea; two thousand more men were coming from Berwick to the Duke of Norfolk; that Lord Grey, Sir James Croftes [sic], Sir Henry Percy were the principal leaders of this army in Scotland; that two or three thousand Scotsmen were to be kept at the Queen of England's expense, and those of the bravest. . . [B.p.91].

¹⁸ Holinshed, pp. 1187 41-70; 1188 3-4.

¹⁹ Sampson, 1.2.26.

²⁰ CSPA, 658, p. 319, Feb 20.

* ensign: body of men serving under one banner; any number from 100 - 500 (OED 6).

The potentially large number of invading troops does not seem to have been taken too seriously, as La Brosse makes the point in his Journal that ‘The Sieur de Bothwell does not hold this advice very trustworthy’. Churchyard estimates that the ‘Scots Lords’ ‘brought with them two Thousand men at least / Few more I gesse that were in order set’ and considers that the number of English soldiers was inadequate for the task:²¹

... they marched throw the plaine
With banner splaide, with carriage haell and tente,
All fitte for warres, to Leeth this armye wente,
And as I know, the number was so small,
Sixe thousande and, fiue hundreth men were all. [C. 3-7].

In Sampson’s play, Grey refers to ‘gentle Sir Gervase’, the alliterative name allegedly given to Sir Gervase Clifton because his bearing was so courtly.⁹⁹ Clifton has conscripted ‘five hundred and fifty tall white coats’, proudly describing them as

Fellows that will face a murdering cannon
When it blows ranks into the air as chaff.
Yet, dreadless they shall stand it and not shrink.
Right Nottinghamshire lads. [1.2.43-47].

The number of soldiers quoted by Clifton appears to be rather more than the two hundred called for by Norfolk and is a generous contribution from his county.⁹⁵ Many of these conscripts were men who were ‘more rawe then rype, vnready out of vse’, as Churchyard described those ‘not trained for the field’.²⁴

In the play, Lord Grey sends Sir George Howard, Sir James Croft and his son Arthur Grey to make representation to the dowager queen, accompanying her trumpeter Trumbull. Holinshed refers to the ‘safe repaire’ given via Trombull (sic) to Croft,

²¹ C. 51-53.

²² Debrett, John. *New Baronetage of England*. 5th ed. London: C & J Rivington et al. 1824. p. 8. A rhyme attributed to Q. Elizabeth, ‘Gervase the Gentle, Stanhope the stout, Markham the lion, Sutton the lout’.]

²³ CSPS, 658, Feb 20, p. 319.

²⁴ C. 8-9.

Howard and 'six others to accompanie them'. In the State Papers, it may be observed that Grey sends communication to Norfolk on the 7th April that Croft and Howard are to accompany the trumpeter [?Drummond] to the Dowager, adding

I thought the skirmish should cease and ordered our party to retire, the said trumpeter warning the French to the like. [CSPS 716].

'I* th' interim we'll sheath our burnished blades / Which had been dyed in scarlet long ere this' [1.2.69] says Grey in the play, and this promise (and the outcome) is stated clearly in his official letter to Norfolk of the 7th April:

After Croft and Howard departed, hearing some shots, I drew near the French, and gave notice by a trumpeter, that seeing the communing then on hand, skirmishing should cease. They made a brave answer that they were on their master's ground, and without warning, discharged 50 or 60 shot at me and a few of the Scots lords with me, compelling us to make the skirmish, which was very hot, wherein we have killed and taken 100 Frenchmen, not without a good number of ours hurt, and some slain. [CSPS 716].

Sampson tells that the French disregarded the request that fighting should cease while a peace agreement was being considered:

Rouge Croix Making for Edinburgh to the Queen
Nine hundred shot and five hundred corslets
Came forth of Leith under the conduct
Of Martigues and D'Oysel, their colonels.
We wished them peaceably return to Leith
Since contrary to all laws of arms
They now had issued. Martigues replied
They, on their master's ground, resolved stood,
And from their mistress would not budge a foot
For any English breathing.

[1.2.100-109].

The description of this attack is based on Holinshed's account:

although an abstinence of all hostilitie ... ought to have ceased, the Frenchmen to the number of nine hundred, or a thousand shot, backed with five hundred corselets and pikes and about fiftie horsemen, were come forth of Leith ... the

Frenchmen stepping forth, discharged a whole vollee of their shot into the field against my lord Greie and his companie. Thereupon, the Englishmen and they fell in skirmish, which continued for the space of foure houres and more, so hot & eamestlie maintained on both parts, that the like had not lightlie beene seene manie a day before. Yet at length, the Englishmen drove the French footmen over the hill... [1188 20-50].

In his version of events, Churchyard refers to 'this staye of warre' and presents a picture of Frenchmen who 'laye vnseene / As though were ment, no harme on either side / As fire lyes hid, vntill the smoke be spide'. Although Grey tried to reason with them, sending word that 'they should retyre them now',

Full stoutly than, the French in braury spake
Do what you dare ...
Full in our face, they shotte as they were mad:
A tricke of Fraunce, a bluddy parte to bad
But as God woude, the skath they did was smale
It was but one on whom the harme did fale. [C. 87-88; 95-98].

John Lesley, staunchly Catholic, paints a rather different picture. His version of events suggests that 'Sir George Hawart and Sir James Croftis' visited the queen regent to ask that the French 'depart furth of the realme of Scotland', promising that the English would return to their own country. After consulting her officers, the Queen then sends her trumpeter Drummond to La Brosse with the instruction that he agrees the conditions with Lord Grey. Lesley believes that it was the English who initiated this attack:

fone eftir his departing ffe the Lord Grays campt, [Drummond] was fuddantlie fend for againe, and his letters taikin ffome him, and commandit to retume to the castell of Edinburgh to the Quene, and declare thay wold haif no commouning, bot be revenged on the Frenche men for the flauchter of thair men the night preceding. [L. 283].

The accounts by the English authors of the unprovoked assault by the French on the allied forces are given in rather more detail than that of La Brosse in his Journal where, in merely a couple of lines, he reports that after Grey had made the suggestion to cease fire, ‘Soon after they fell to a skirmish, in which a good many English were left on the field and of them many were hurt’. There is no reference to French casualties - or even of a French defeat - but he mentions several English captains who ‘were taken with a few soldiers, and three or four were killed’. La Brosse concludes this report by saying that ‘the English have dug themselves in round their camp’: not quite the same result as that reported by Churchyard, Holinshed and in the official state papers.⁷⁷

Later on, however, La Brosse expands on his report of the skirmish and it is perhaps unsurprising that he appears to exaggerate the military ability of his countrymen and reduces the number of casualties from that given in other accounts:

On the 6th the English camp came to Restalrig, where a great skirmish took place ... in which a good many English were left on the field and of them many were hurt. Towards the end of the encounter some French harquebusiers having put to flight a party of English horse and foot and having gone on in pursuit of this victory ... the English faced about near the gallows on the seashore: the captains, Saint Jean, Mirepoys, Favas and Biron, were taken with a few soldiers, and three or four were killed. The English have dug themselves in round their camp at the said Restalrig. [B. 101].

After the ‘skirmish’ there is a tally of the number of French casualties, although Holinshed does not appear to detail any of them, merely stating that

There were slaine in this skirmish of the French, about a seven score, and amongst them twelve men of name, beside some of them that remained prisoners. Of the Englishmen, there were also diuerse slaine, and manie hurt. [1188 65-8].

⁷⁷ La Brosse, 99.

In *The Vow Breaker*, Argyll gives numbers and the precise names of French noblemen taken prisoner, but his list of names does not appear elsewhere and the inclusion of La Brosse may also suggest that Sampson created it for the purpose of his play:

Seven score, my Lord, and prisoners of noble worth:
Poitiers, Augois, Bourbon, Chaumont, Chalons,
La Brosse and, of the English, merely one slain. [1.3.7-9].

In view of the fact that La Brosse kept a daily journal, it could be presumed that he was not taken prisoner. The optimism that ‘merely’ one man was slain is slightly at odds with Holinshed’s ‘diverse’, and with Churchyard’s account in which he states that ‘some’ were slain.

Although Churchyard specifies no names, he reports that twelve Frenchmen ‘of good name’ were slain. In addition, five gentlemen taken prisoner

Wee toke that day, and brought away aliue.
Of common sort, of souldiours good and bad
Full seven skore, of them we put to sack,
And some sore hurt, into their towne they lad:
Of ours in deede, a very fewe did lack
Some hurt, some slaine, ... [C. 181-187].

Norfolk, in his communication to Cecil, appears relieved that the only death worth mentioning is that of one officer - presumably the foot soldiers were dispensable and therefore unremarkable. Although, from the foregoing, it could be suggested that the English routed the French, it is clear from the letter to Cecil a week or so after the event, and after Norfolk had discussed it with Sir Francis Leake, that the attack did not actually have the expected outcome:

Mr Leeke is now arrived, who saw the whole, and says it was the hottest he ever saw. There were killed and hurt of either part, 7 or 8 score; and hard to judge who had the better. On our side none slain above the degree of lieutenant,

Captain Barkeley hurt and taken, Mr Arthur Grey shot through the shoulder, but thank God, in no danger. Brian Fritzwilliams shot through the leg. Of the French, Monsieur Chepper one of the chiefest captains slain. I hope this will be a lesson to them in charge to keep their men out of Edinburgh.²⁸

It is rather telling that Norfolk appears concerned that the English may have been too inadequately equipped to effect an overwhelming success in this skirmish. He continues in this communication,⁴¹ 'I think all our fine armed Berwick men be not the best furnished of them', and ends with the plea that he be not blamed for the less than satisfactory outcome, 'Praying you to be so much my friend that every man may bear his own burden, and nothing undeserved laid on my neck'.

Lesley describes the engagement quite clearly and he, too, emphasises that there was no obvious victor - in contrast to Sampson's account, where Young Bateman proudly displays the 'Colours' of the French:²⁹

... thair was ane army of aucht thousande men ... and the hoill army was fend in Scotlande with the Lord Gray, being appointed liuetennent thairto ... on Satirday the faxt day of Aprill; quhair at thair firft arrayvinge, or thay fet down thair campt, Monfieur Martigo, [Martigues] crowner of the Frenche army, ifhewt furth of the toun with ix hundrethe harcabuifhers of French men ... quhair thair was gret contenowall and hat fcarmilhing betuix the Inglifmen and French men, with harcabuifhers, culveringis and piftolettis, quhilk lefted the fpace of five or fax houris, in the quhilk thair was mony Inglimen and Frenche men alfo llane, and dyvers hurt; and the faid Martigo reterred him felfe and his cumpanie in ordour to the toun of Leith, and the Inglifmen fet down thair campte, and planted thair gret ordinance beynd the faid hill. [L. 282-283].

Act 2 of *The Vow Breaker* begins with a scene where the two French officers, Martigues and D'Oysel, dress up as women in order to confuse their enemy. To support the fancy dress and to appear genuine Scottish women, they adopt a pseudo Scottish language,

²⁸ CSPS. 738, Apr. 18.

²⁹ Sampson, 1.3.5.

flirt with the soldiers, and open fire. They are then defeated by Clifton and his men,
with the loss of only one English soldier:

Martigues Now is our time to work a stratagem
 Gaining these trenches that oppress the town.
 Thus, as we are, we pass without suspect:
 Nine bona-robas, nine stout viragoes,
 Nine manly lasses which will stand the squeak. [2.1.3-7].

D'Oysel The Scotch language I am perfect in.
 Encaul yourselves, they enter on their guard. [2.1.12-13].

Clifton Well fought, my hearts, though we have lost one man
 Whose head they basely perch upon the walls.
 Base-minded D'Oysel, cowardly Martigues!
 You came like yourselves,
 Frenchified trulls, to scold us from our trenches
 But not to beat us. [2.1.114-120].

Holinshed, on the 12th April, refers to French 'women' and describes the scene in a few lines:

... nine Frenchmen apparelled like women, came forth of Leith, and
counterfeiting some like demeanor to the apparel wherein they were disguised,
trained one of the English scouts within their danger, whom they tooke, and
chopped off his head, which they set upon the top of one of their church
steeples. [1188 46-52].

In *The Siege of Leith*, Churchyard reports on the incident, but makes no mention of the
number of soldiers involved or the beheaded Englishman and, like Holinshed, makes no
attempt to identify the disguised Frenchmen:

... a mounte there was deuisde
Which bare the name of Pellam for the space
I had forgot, how Frenchmen cam disgisde
In womens wedes, like queanes with muffled face
They did no acte, but sone they tooke the chace
I see that passe, and on the mounte I treate
Where to be playne, the seruice was full greate. [C. 330-336].

This incident is certainly unexpected and could be thought to be unlikely. It is not mentioned in the Calendar of State Papers but as there are references, as quoted, these do suggest that it may well be genuine. In his *Journal* La Brosse refers to it only briefly, but the editor's footnote alludes to a comment of Stow:

That same day [14th April] three or four soldiers apparelled like women pretended to come out from Leith. Some English horse came towards them of whom the said soldiers killed some and took some prisoner. [B. 117].

[footnote] The same day nine French men apparelled like women came forth of Lieth, and counterfeiting some light demeanor, trained one of the English scowts within their danger, whom they tooke, and chopped off his head, which they set upon the toppe of one of their Church steeples. [Stow 1087].

After the scene with the French 'women', in *The Vow Breaker* Clifton effects a fight with Martigues, overcomes him and then sends him back unharmed, with the instruction

... take thy arms, return back to Leith
With our best convoy. I tell thee, Martigues,
My hatred is not capital, though honour
And war's necessity made me storm.
When to these walls thou see'st my white coats come
With scaling ladders to assault the town
Be merciful, as I have been to thee. [2.3.29-35].

There is no reference to Martigues being taken prisoner in any other account or, indeed, to him showing 'mercy' to the English soldiers when they attack Leith castle, but there is praise for Clifton in Grey's letter to Norfolk of 21st April, when he requests that Norfolk write to 'Sir Jarvice Clifton' for his 'stout endeavour'.³⁰ Holinshed draws scant attention to Clifton on that day, reporting that he was guarding the making 'of a new trench neere to the towne'.

³⁰ CSPS, 759, p. 387.

³¹ Holinshed, 1189, 50-51.

In Sampson's play, Rouge Croix requests 'safe convoy' from 'the red Braies to Edinburgh Castle' for Monluc who, on entering, explains his reasons:

Mary, King Dauphin's wife, dowager of France
And heir apparent to the Scottish crown
... Me, her legate, she sends to Edinburgh
To parley with her mother, the Queen Regent,
And Article a peace twixt her dear sister,
The Queen of England, and the Lords of Scotland
If our conditions may be made with honour. [3.2. 93-102].

Holinshed first makes reference to Monluc's arrival, on the 21st April:

The bishop of Valence named Monluc ... came to Lesterike ... he was
conducted by Rouge Crosse the officer of armes from the campe into
Edenburgh, and so went up to the castell to conferre with the queene Dowager.
[1189 56-66].

There is also reference in the *Chronicles* to Monluc who, 'after he had talked with the queene Dowager, returned to commune with the lords of the congregation', but there is no mention of him bringing 'conditions' for a peace treaty.³³

La Brosse notes in his *Journal* that the Bishop of Valence 'had been received by Lord Grey and the English camp very honourably and with very fair words' on the 21st and that, although 'his commission was directed towards peace', that night the English renewed their attack.³⁴ The following day the conditions for peace on behalf of the King and Queen concerned chiefly three things:

An amnesty for past offences; the conservation of their privileges and liberties and treaties already made; the withdrawal of the French soldiers, retaining only those necessary for the fortresses, on condition that they returned to their due obedience. There could be nothing better, so it was thought, even by the English, and these propositions were at once drawn up in writing in their tongue and made known throughout their army and sent into England. [B. 125].

³² 3.2.83-4

³³ Holinshed, 1189, 56; 18.

³⁴ La Brosse, 123.

Thomas Churchyard, a common soldier, would not have been privy to political deliberations, but his account of the incident suggests that it may have been common knowledge that the visit of Monluc was part of an attempt to negotiate a peace treaty:

A Bishop came, from Fraunce to treate a peace
Muche talke there was, which time consumed still
But all this while, the wars did nothing seace [C. 218-219].

From a communication to Cecil ‘on the Scots’ from Wotton and dated about 20th April, I have learned from the State Papers of an imminent threat that the Spanish king was expected to arrive in Scotland with thousands of troops to assist the French.^{QC} Wotton^m is of the opinion that ‘the Queen’s purpose is defeated; for ours cannot resist the French thus aided, and the neutral Scots seeing this, will declare for them’. However, after weighing up the demands of the Scots [this appears to refer to the ‘conditions’ of the queen regent] Wotton suggests that the English ‘continue in war and not agree’. He adds, in a later communication on the same day,

it is very strange he [Philip] promised to aid the French against the Scots, without signifying it to the Scots or the Queen. No! nor never soughte so much as to understande how the cace standith betwixt the French and the Scottes! What is this [asks Wotton of Cecil] but to open the gate and the way for the French to conquer England by Scotland. [CSPS 742 Apr 20].

From Grey’s letter to Norfolk on April 25 it is clear that, although Monluc ‘talks much’, it is ‘to little purpose, though he seems desirous to pacify these troubles’. On the following day, Norfolk makes it clear to Grey that Monluc’s efforts are in vain:

the siege of Leith shall be more hotly prosecuted, and the treaty less regarded - except something unforeseen occurs - and the congregation advertised that [the Queen] is determined to augment her force by land and sea, rather than the

³⁵ CSPS, 741, c.Apr. 20.
³⁶ - ibid - 748, Apr. 25.

exploit be hindered . . . There is no way so profitable for us (if feasible) than to win it by force. [749 Apr 26].

The impasse over the terms of the peace treaty culminates in the attack on Leith on Tuesday 7th May, depicted by Sampson in Act 4. The act opens with Grey issuing his battle cry to the troops:

Grey This day shall in our English calendar stand
Either to our dishonour or great fames
When chronicles, in after ages, tell
The seventh of May we scaled the walls of Leith.
We have begun, dreadless of death and dangers
And, like to loyal subjects, held the rights
Of our dear mistress Queen Elizabeth.
When Captain Randall gives the alarm
'Assault! Assault!' each man salute his friend,
Take solemn farewell till this siege have end. [4.1.2-11].

Perhaps it is this day, more than any other, that proved to be the turning point of the siege; it was a day of complete disaster for the English and the blame, according to accounts from both sides, may rest on the shoulders of Lord Grey.

Thomas Churchyard speaks from experience, describing only too clearly the disastrous assault:

For this assault, lewde^e ladders, viele^e and nought *worthless (o e d 6); [Fr. vieux] old
The soldiours had, which were to shorte God wot
The profe thereof, with blud the poore men bought
Had they ben long, the towne we might haue got

The drommes did sounde, the trumpettes blew alowde
The Cannons shot, the bowmen stode not still
The smoke was like, a fogge or mistie clowde
That poulder made, our souldiours lackt no will
To clyme the walls, where they receiud much ill
For when they laide, their ladders in the dike
They were to shorte, the lengthe of halfe a pike.

To see poore soules, there wander in the dikes
The stones were flunge, the curriar bet them downe
The wounded men, let fall both bowes and pikes
The mangled heapes, that creped from the towne
The slaughter foule, and here the wofull sowne
That Souldiours cries, there made I thinke in dede
Would sure compel, a stony harte to blede.

[C. 442-476].

La Brosse builds up a picture of events from the beginning of the month. He writes of the first two days when ‘nothing much was done on either side’, with ‘just the usual skirmishes and some shots’, and he even comments that ‘the English said that they were waiting for their reinforcements from England before making a breach and giving the assault... Meanwhile they were busy making scaling ladders’.³⁷ On the 3rd May, La Brosse reports ‘An outstanding skirmish’ [for the French, of course], and by day six ‘it had been impossible to get anyone into Leith; they all were taken on the way’:

On the 7th at break of day, they made the assault on all sides of the town with scaling ladders. This lasted for two and a half or three hours, and they were repulsed ... The English and Scots acknowledged that they had lost a thousand or fifteen hundred men... There were only fifteen men killed in the town, and a few wounded, but not dangerously. All day the English and Scots lords were guarding the trenches in order, as they said, to allow their men a little rest in the meantime. And during this pause, they made for themselves ladders which were longer than the others, which, they said, had been found to be too short. The wounded said ... that the greatest hurt they had received had been from the stones thrown down by the sutlers and the trollops. [B. 145].

It is quite clear from La Brosse’s version of events that, on the 7th May, the English failed in their attempt to scale the walls of Leith with the loss of many lives.

Holinshed describes the attack in some detail, praising the men who ‘preased forward with courage inough, and boldlie adventured to clime the wals, and enter at the

³⁷ La Brosse, 135.

* sutlers - Those who follow an army or live in a garrison town and sell provisions to the soldiers (OED).

breaches, but yet their attempt wanted the wished successe'.³⁸ He explains how the

French were able to repel the English:

For what through the Frenchmens policie in stopping the currant of the river that night, and other deuises for their owne safegard, and the annoyance of the assailants; and what by reason of the unfitness of the ladders, being too short by two yards and more, the assailants were repelled. [1192 50-56].

Although La Brosse claims that no Englishmen were able to breach the wall, Holinshed reports, 'neverthelesse, manie there were that entred the towne in sundrie places'.

Bishop Lesley also makes reference to this assault, but he does not suggest that the inadequate length of the ladders was the direct cause of its failure:

The French men islhewd furth of the towne ... and maid gret flaughter upoun the watches and utheris ... one day in the morning befoir day ... with ane thoufand fouldioris Inglis and Scottis, with mony ledderis maid to that effect, quha alfailyeit the fame verrey ftoutlie; bot the wallis was fo curageouflic defendit be the Frenche men, that the Inglifmen war repulfed and gret number of thame flayne. [L. 285].

It would appear that Sampson wishes to give the impression that the English were poised on the edge of victory. Clifton and Argyll report the event in the manner of a commentary, accentuating the excitement of the attack and the bravery of their own men. Clifton boasts how he faced the French general:

D'Oisel has thrice assaulted me; I faced him
And from his sides, like Libyan Hercules,
I tore the rough Nemean lion's skin,
His armour of good proof, which here I bear
And will not part from, but with loss of life. [4.2.9-13].

³⁸ Holinshed, 1192,47-50.

³⁹ - ibid - 1192,65-66.

Argyll describes how ‘the hardy Scots as swift as roes / Climb the walls and toss the Frenchmen down’. Although he admits that ‘the ladders are too short / Which gives a treble vantage to the French’, he confidently ends his account by asserting that ‘the Frenchmen fly the town / And seek for shelter’, suggesting, perhaps, that the English finish up victorious.⁴⁰ To confirm this implied outcome of the assault, D’Oysel and Martigues now appear as prisoners of Clifton and Grey.

Although Sampson’s Grey is never less than positive about the outcome of the siege of Leith, from the official state papers it is seen that he was, in fact, less than optimistic about the chances of success: ‘if we assault and are repulsed, I see not that we shall be able to give a second, but must leave it with dishonour for lack of power’.⁴¹ Norwich acknowledges this pessimism over the venture in a letter to Cecil, in which he lays the responsibility firmly at Grey’s door, explaining that

I may not be silent, lest the fault be hereafter Tayed in my necke’. Grey’s service consists only in courage without conduct: every man that can lead a band of horse is not fit for such an enterprise, ‘and to abate his forwardness, there be that be as backwardes’.
[CSPS 773 May 5].

I am able to see from the Papers that the failure of the ladders erected against the town’s walls in order to effect the assault was also the responsibility of Grey, even if he delegated the actual task of measuring. ‘Mr Vaughan has measured the depth and breadth of the ditch and height of the ‘rampiere’, the last more than a pike’s length’, writes Grey in a letter to Norfolk on the 4th May.⁴² Only a few days later, early on the morning of the attempted assault, Howard advises Norfolk that

⁴⁰ Sampson, 4.2.24-25; 31-32; 40-41.

⁴¹ CSPS, 772, May 4.

⁴² - *ibid* -

we saw all things contrary - for there was neither breach meet for any man to assault - as I am informed by them that was at it - nor any scaling ladder long enough by 2 yards to reach the top of the wall. [CSPS 777 May 7].

Norfolk himself was very anxious to avoid being blamed for the unsuccessful assault; he writes to Cecil on May 8 that 'the thing was marvellously ill handled [and] if it had been ordered as I am told, the thing might have been won with much less loss. Hoping nobody will find fault with my doings'.⁴³ He later reports with some vehemence to Cecil that he had heard from Mr Killingale that Grey was blaming Norfolk for pressurising him to carry out the assault at that time:

Lord Grey also sends word that had it not been the hastening he had by letters (meaning mine) he would not have ventured this assault. You may see how unlikely this is - 'first, of haste' I never wrote to him since he removed from Lastarrick, and then you know I did it by direction. Since then, I have praised his doings 'and never advised him to nothing', but left all to himself, saying that he being there must needs see more than I could so far off, advise him. [CSPS 780; CSPF 59. May 8].

After the death of Mary of Guise on June 10th (unmarked by Sampson), at the end of Act 4 we see instructions being given for a ceasefire to the generals of both sides of the conflict. Rouge Croix instructs Grey '... make immediate repair to Edinburgh / And present lay by all hostility / From this hour until seven o'clock at night'. Following this, the Bishop of Valence, Monluc, instructs his chief of army, Martigues, to follow suit, and Grey himself orders Clifton 'The like do you'. Although Grey claims to be resigned to peace or war - 'We are for either object, both we dare' - Clifton gives the impression that he is furious that the English are not allowed to 'fight it out'.⁴⁴

Sampson appears to have modelled this incident on that in Holinshed's *Chronicle*

⁴³ CSPS, 778; CSPF, 58. May 8.

⁴⁴ Sampson, 4.2.62-64; 68; 77; 82.

On Saturday sist of June, the lord Greie lord lieutenant, master secretarie Cecill, and sir Rafe Sadler, betwist three and foure of the clocke in the aftermoone, gave order that there should no peece be shot, nor shew of hostilitie made till seauen of the clocke the same night: and herewith sent sir Gerveis Clifton unto all the souldiors that warded in the trenches and bulwarks on the west side of Leith, to command them to obserue the like order. . . . The peace now in the meane time being concluded, on the morrow being Sundaie, and seuenth of June sir Francis Leake, and sir Gerveis Clifton, accompanied with two French gentlemen, were sent to the towne of Leith, to signifie unto monsieur Doisell, the bishop of Amiens, la Brosse, Martigues, and other the French lords and captains, that they were come thither by commandement from the commissioners, to cause the peace already concluded to be proclaimed .. ,⁴⁵ [1192, 3-24].

The date given for the Holinshed extract is June 6^{ij}, but there is no suggestion from the state papers that hostilities were suspended before June 17th when, ‘from articles agreed between the Ambassadors of France and England’, there should be ‘from Monday 17 instant [June] till Saturday next at 8 p.m. a suspension of arms by sea and land’.⁴⁶

These Articles of Suspension (endorsed by Cecil’s clerk) contain certain conditions but also make it absolutely clear that negotiations for peace must continue, ‘If the ambassadors break off negotiations, the suspension of arms shall also cease’.

There is no mention at all of the ceasefire by La Brosse and, as his *Journal* does not end until the 15 June, this would suggest that a date of around the 17th may be the most likely.

Act 5 of *The Vow Breaker* opens with a scene in which Gervase Clifton is discussing the Articles of Peace with the Bishop of Valence, as Ambassador to the king and queen of France, and with General Martigues. He enumerates thirteen Articles drawn up

⁴⁵ The date for this entry is uncertain as the entries on the page in the *Chronicle* do not have consecutive dates. The death of the dowager queen is reported [10 June] and then, after Thurs 4th July, the next entry (1192, line 60) reads Friday 6 June (sic), then Sat 6 June, after which is the above entry (6 June) with ‘the morrow being Sundaie and seuenth of June’ - and then no more dated entries until Michaelmas [29 Sept].
⁴⁶ CSPA, 818, June 17.

between Queen Elizabeth and the king and queen of France and Scotland ‘upon a reconciliation of peace and amity to be inviolably kept between them’.⁴⁷

Churchyard speaks passionately about the effect of the peace on the soldiers:

That with their blud, their countries rest haue brought
... Because the brute, and betill headed braines
Can not conceiue, the depenes of this peace
And that some thinke, that we haue loste our paines
Or that by this, may further warres encrease
For that I would, suche fonde conceiptes should seace
... By this we haue, that many kinges did seek
A perfit peace, with Scotland suer for aye
By this the Frenche, that nestlid nere our cheek
Full many yeares, are now dispatcht away
... Our foes sent home, and we in quiet are. [C.597; 617-621; 624-627; 630].

Although thirteen articles are referred to by Holinshed, in the state papers the actual number is unclear: on July 6th, there are twelve ‘principal matters’ and two days later there are twenty-six articles mentioned in Cecil’s letter to the Queen, referred to as being the ‘substance’ of the treaty.⁴⁸ When comparing the Articles described by Sampson with those of Holinshed, it may be seen immediately that his list is taken from the *Chronicle*, as illustrated here.⁴⁹ For comparison, some examples of the entries forming part of the state papers are also given:

That the French soldiers and all men of war
Leave the realm of Scotland in twenty days

That the French souldiours and men ofwarre should depart out of the realme of Scotland within a short time limited oftwentie daies

All French land and sea forces shall leave Scotland

[CSPF 281 July 6].

⁴⁷ Sampson, 5.1.23-24.

⁴⁸ CSPS, 855, July 6; 856 July 8.

⁴⁹ In order to quickly see the comparisons, the (first) quotations given are for Sampson [font 12] - 5.1.37-54; those for *Holinshed* [italics] page 1193,46-63; the third set [font 10] refer to the Calendar of State Paper, Foreign (CSPF).

Six score soldiers only are excepted,
Three score of them to remain at Inchkeith
And three score at the Castle of Dunbar
Their wages to be paid from the estates
Of Scotland, and to live lawful subjects
To the laws and ordinances of that realm

They to be answered their wages at the hands of the estates of Scotland, and to be subiect unto the lawes and ordinances of that realme, six score of them onlie excepted, as three score to abide in Insketh, and three score in the castell of Dunbar

All the French shall be removed save 120 to be stationed in Dunbar and Inchkeith, who are to be amenable to the laws of Scotland; they shall be mustered and paid monthly, and inspected by two Lords of Scotland to see that their numbers are not increased. [CSPF 280 July 6].

All fortifications in or about Leith
Which by the French were built, shall be defaced

That the fortifications about Leith should be razed and demolished

The fortifications of Leith and Dunbar shall be dismantled, and not rebuilt [CSPF 280 July 6].

That France convey not any man of war
Nor ammunition into this land
Without a free consent in Parliament
Of the three estates of these great kingdoms

That the Frenchmen should not conueie into Scotland anie men of warre, or munitions without consent of the parlement assembled of three estates of that realme.

All hostile preparations to cease on both parts, and no ship to be transported with men of war 'or any warly apparel'; and no artillery and munition imported without the consent of the Estates. [CSPF 315 July 8; 280 July 6].

That Francis and Mary, King and Queen of France
From henceforth bear not the arms of England
Which solely appertain to our dread mistress,
The Queen of England, and to no other.

That the king and queene of France & Scotland should not from thenceforth beare the arms of England, sith the same apperteined onlie to the queens maiestie of England and to no other person.

John Lesley reports that four ambassadors and commissioners of France and England went to Edinburgh to discuss the terms of peace, ‘alfwell for the relief of Scottismen as for the weill and suirtie of the Quene of Inglande [and] eftir long treatie, thaie was a peace concludit and contracted’. After detailing the Articles, Lesley tells the reader, ‘Heir is necelfar to be rememberit, the caus quhy in this treatye their was nothing aggreit tueching religione ... thairfoir that mater was delayit’.⁵⁰

It appears that the French had no ships available to transport the army away from Scotland, and ‘thairfoir the Quene of Inglendis fhippis was conductit thairto ... and maid fail with profferous winde and weddir to France. The Inglis armye departit likwyfe, and by the waye caufit caft down the foirt before the catle of Dumbar, as it was appointit befoir’.⁵¹

At the end of this first scene of Act 5, having heard Clifton list the principal Articles of Peace, Martigues accepts them on behalf of his army: ‘We subjects are the hands, kings are the heads, / And what the head commands, the hands must act.’⁵² The scene ends with Martigues suggesting to Clifton and his fellow officers that ‘As we have fought together, so we’ll feast’, although he is quick to remind him that this is restricted to ‘Such viands as a razed town can yield’.⁵³ Bishop Lesley, in his *History*, says that the English army were well provisioned:

⁵⁰ Lesley, 290-291.

⁵¹ - *ibid* - 292.

⁵² Sampson, 5.1.56-57.

⁵³ - *ibid*- 5.1.59-60.

Bot the Frenchemen within Leyth had gret penuritie of all kinde of victuallis, fo
that thay war confrayned to eit thair owine horfes, and efteame the flefche of
thame moir delitious nor evir thay did venifone of befoir. [L. 298].

Clifton and Grey (in the next scene) are certainly appreciative of the ‘full forty messes’
that the French provide for them ‘not like to foes, but friends’, praising them in
particular for the ‘powdered horse’.⁵⁴

There is no mention of this feast in Holinshed, La Brosse or Churchyard but about the
22nd June, Randolph sent a letter to Killigrew, referring to the sharing of a meal during
the six day ‘suspension of arms’, and this occasion would suggest a feast such as
Sampson mentions:

In this time of abstinence [Randolph wrote], divers of ours have talked with
divers of them ‘in gentle wordes and termes’, and have ‘broken and eaten
together’. Yesterday on the sands on the east side, the captains of Mount Pelham
met with some of them, each bringing such victuals as he had - the English,
beef, bacon, capon, chicken, wine, &c.; the French, to signify the difference
between ‘thassigers and thassiges’, brought a ‘colde capon rost, a pastie of a
baken hors, and vj rattes well roasted’, telling them that was their best ‘fresche
vivers’, whereof they lacked no store. ‘Credyt this to be trewe’, I should myself
have been at the ‘banket’ - where there were ‘Vaughthan’ general of Mount
Pelham, Sir Andrew Corbett, Sir Edward Filton, *cum multis aliis*.

[CSPS 826 June 22-22].

Although Grey announces that Argyll, Clifton and himself ‘With expedition are for
Nottingham / To meet our peerless princess Elizabeth / Who, in her progress, there will
lay her court’, in actual fact Elizabeth ‘minds to remove hence the 19th instant [July],
and begin a progress towards Portsmouth’.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Sampson, 5.2.54; 51; 56.

thessigers: the siegers

⁵⁵ Sampson, 5.2.78-81; CSPS 869 July 19.

The final scene of the play concerns the attendance upon the Queen in Nottingham - this event is a figment of Sampson's imagination: there was no visit by the Queen at this time and no evidence has been found of any Charter relating to the city or the river Trent. In *The Vow Breaker* the Queen welcomes 'renowned John of Wilton': he certainly had a reputation, as is seen from various references. In his letter to Norfolk of June 6, Sir Henry Percy tells of the message that he had received from General D'Oysel, who had apparently told Percy's trumpeter that

knowinge the ill treatment of our souldiers by my lorde Graye as also by the uncurtes language to our messengers, I had rather we the nobyltye should fall into thandes of Sir Henry, then to taste of the crewaltie of my lorde Gray, wich is not unknowne unto us. For as we have had experyens of the mercy wich your master hathe shewed in victoryes ageinst us, so ar we assured of the vyolens that the lorde Graye canne do unto us, whose reportes comes to us dalye.[CSPF 810].

Previously, on the 5th May, Norfolk considered that 'Grey's service consists only in courage without conduct' and, in a second letter to Cecil only a few days later, when talking about the too-short ladders, 'I send you Lord Grey's letters, by which you shall not understand the truth of the matter'.⁵⁶ However, Norfolk then finds an excuse for Grey's ladder incident as, on May 18, he writes to Cecil,

I have written this day to Lord Grey with all the comfort I can, 'whoe in my opynyon ys no waye to be blamyd, except yt be for that he hathe not, hys wyttes and memorye faylies hym. [CSPF 795 May 18].

It would seem that Grey may have been a somewhat difficult person to get along with as, on the 10th July, Norfolk is writing to Cecil 'No man is so able as yourself to do anything with Lord Grey herein, so pray speak with him'.⁵⁷ From these contemporary

⁵⁶ CSPF, 773, May 5; CSPF 778, May 8.

⁵⁷ - *ibid* - 861, July 10.

observations, it would suggest that Elizabeth's 'only champion' had some shortcomings - of which she was unaware.

In the play, the Queen appoints Grey 'Governor of Berwick' and yet, in his letter to Cecil of July 19th, Petre writes 'The Queen likes well that Sir Francis Leke take charge of Berwick, and writes to my lord of Norfolk and him therefore. What she resolves for Lord Grey shall appear by my Tordes letters' now sent to you'.⁵⁸ Unfortunately, there are no relevant letters in the collection of state papers and so the Queen's 'resolve' is not identified and Grey's destination is unknown. Gervase Clifton did become the Deputy Lieutenant of Nottinghamshire, so Sampson was correct in that respect; he was also Sheriff of the county four times.

From his reproduction of quite extensive passages in *The Vow Breaker* taken directly from the *Chronicles*, it is indisputable that William Sampson had access to Holinshed's report of the Siege of Leith and that this was the main source of his information. However, although there are some vivid accounts of the siege in the earlier *Journal* of Jacques de La Brosse and in Thomas Churchyard's *The Schole of Warre*, Sampson does not appear to use them, suggesting that these were unfamiliar.

⁵⁸ CSPF, 868, July 19.

The Navigation of the Trent 1560

In this, the final scene of Sampson's play, Queen Elizabeth visits Nottingham to grant a Charter to its people that would enable the river Trent to be made navigable to Boston and the Wash, eastward, and north to the Humber estuary and so to the North Sea

Queen: As a small token of our princely love
 On to your former motion made for Trent;
 You'd have it navigable to Gainsborough,
 So to Boston, Kingston-on-Hull, and Humber. [5.4.10-13].

Although I have searched extensively through Acts of Parliament and Royal Charters covering the period of Elizabeth's reign and the first half of the seventeenth century, there is no evidence of any Charter that refers to the river Trent. The only connection that I have been able to find with the Trent's navigational system and Queen Elizabeth around 1560 was a long dispute at Hull docks and the Act subsequently passed in 1557, to the disadvantage of the town, confirming that all vessels were to pass freely through the harbour without payment of a toll. Whether this knowledge was familiar to Sampson in the 1630s is pure conjecture, but there appears to be nothing else about this time to suggest a Charter even loosely connected with the places mentioned in the Queen's speech.

Dr Jayne Archer suggests that, as Nottingham was a proposed venue for the planned meeting in 1562 between Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots, it may be that Sampson compressed these two years for dramatic effect.¹ A thorough check of the Nichols archives regarding Elizabeth's planned and actual progresses reveals no suggestion that

¹¹ I am indebted to Dr Archer, general editor of *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, 5 vols. (forthcoming with OUP in 2009).

Elizabeth had planned to visit Nottingham in the summer of 1560 and, in fact, her progress in 1560 was confined to the south of the country.

Regarding opening-up the river for navigational purposes, I have found no evidence of specific clearing and digging-out of the river at this time but it may be helpful to review briefly the development of the Trent as a major navigational route from early recorded times through to the seventeenth century, in order to see its importance in 1560 within the waterways.

The river Trent flows through Nottingham to the Humber and it created an important route for goods to be carried to and from the Midlands before the advent of the railways. Its tidal flow takes it through Gainsborough to south of Torksey where it links with the Fossdyke and it provided essential transportation eastward to Lincoln from the Trent and then, via the river Witham, to the Wash at Boston. The importance of keeping free passage of the Trent and Fossdyke was nothing new; the Domesday Book records that the water of Trent was to be kept clear so that if anyone prevented progress of boats he should make amends.

Gainsborough, still Britain's most inland port, is located at the highest navigable point on the Trent for seagoing vessels and during the seventeenth century, in particular, the town prospered greatly. However, in common with other ancient navigations, there was no responsible management of 'free' rivers and so, because of inefficient maintenance, it is not surprising that they fell into disrepair for long periods, with the Fossdyke being almost impassable by the seventeenth century. Following years of expensive royal maintenance James I transferred ownership to the corporation of Lincoln in an

endeavour to encourage responsibility for the canal but, by 1660, the canal traffic had virtually ceased.

The Fossdyke is the oldest navigable canal in the country, 11 miles (18 km) in length, and believed to have been built by the Romans about 120 AD, although it may date from even earlier. However, in his study of 1951 of the trade and transport on the River Trent, A.C. Wood was of the opinion that the river played little part in the transport system during Roman times, the roads being for military and communication use, although he considered that the Trent may well have been used for the transportation of the lead that was being mined in Derbyshire.

The canal improved the drainage of the marshy land and also enabled transportation of goods to and from the heart of England. By the Norman Conquest, however, the Trent and its towns had already gained importance and the Domesday survey indicates that a heavy fine was imposed on anyone obstructing the movement of boats on the river.

The importance of the Fossdyke in relation to the river Trent was realised in the early twelfth century when Henry I ordered that the canal be cleaned and deepened, and a Charter of 1155 declared that the Trent must be kept clear for navigation. Greedy landowners who obstructed the river to suit their own purposes regularly contravened this ruling by erecting weirs and dams, and in the fourteenth century arrests were made on those who impeded the transport of goods coming up from the Humber to Nottingham. In spite of the not infrequent obstructions from these landowners, during the Middle Ages there was steady traffic on the Trent (for example: corn, lead, iron,

2 Wood, A.C. 'The History of Trade and Transport on the River Trent', (1951), *Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire* 1950, vol. 54,2.

coal, wool, timber, fish) and by the sixteenth century Gainsborough was the port of entry for goods to London, being carried up the Trent on the returning empty coal barges. Although it is probable that the Trent navigation route carried a comparatively small amount of traffic, the towns of Nottingham and Gainsborough continued to prosper, especially with the increased economic wealth that developed during Elizabeth's reign.

There is an undated letter of Elizabeth's reign indicating that money was spent by a close relation of Sir Henry Willoughby, Sir Francis Willoughby of Wollaton Hall, in an effort to make the Trent more navigable, perhaps to enable the easier transportation of coal from his own pits around Wollaton.³

The present course of the Trent is rather different from that familiar to Sampson, of course, as in many places at that time the river took a more meandering route through marshes and stretches of water choked with silt and water-plants. Due to the drainage systems later installed, however, the swampy areas have now been considerably rectified, enabling the river to adopt its familiar course, although movement is still continuing as the loops of meanders are gradually becoming cut off. The twisting course of the Trent was known to Shakespeare as is indicated in *Henry IV Part One*, when Hotspur discusses the dividing up of England with Glendower and Mortimer and jealously tries to guard the portion he claims:

Methinks my moiety, north from Burton here,
In quantity equals not one of yours,
See how this river comes me cranking in,
And cuts me from the best of all my land
A huge half-moon, a monstrous cantle* out.

³ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Middleton MSS*, p. 530. Nottingham University Library,
♦cantle = segment, portion (OED 3).

I'll have the current in this place damm'd up,
And here the smug and silver Trent shall run
In a new channel, fair and evenly:
It shall not wind with such a deep indent
To rob me of so rich a bottom here.

(3.1.97-106).

William Sampson develops the final scene of his play around a Charter relating to the river Trent, for which I have been unable to find any evidence. He refers to it with such confidence that it is possible that during the early part of the seventeenth century there was awareness in Nottinghamshire that a relevant Act was necessary in order to allow the free movement of vessels on the river.

On the other hand, it may have been another attempt by Sampson to appeal to the known political and cultural interests of William Cavendish, Earl of Newcastle. Cavendish regarded Elizabeth's rule as a model for policy and national unity but, although a royalist, he believed that England's decline was due to the failure of Elizabeth's successors to follow her example of concentrating powers in the crown.⁴ It is clear from dedications to his poems in *Virtus Post Funera Vivit* that Sampson also held in high regard members of the Cavendish family. In addition, Sampson may have wished to bring *The Vow Breaker* to Newcastle's notice as Newcastle also had interests in the Scottish borders with properties inherited through his mother, Katherine Ogle.

⁴Watkins, John. *Representing Elizabeth in Stuart England. (Restoration Elizabeth)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. p. 117.

The significance of ‘The Faire Maide of Clifton’

The title-page of Sampson’s play reads: *The Vow Breaker, or, The Faire Maide of Clifton. In Nottinghamshire as it hath beene diuers times Acted by severall Companies with great applause.*¹ Although this punctuation would appear to suggest that the words ‘In Nottinghamshire’ are associated with the place in which the play ‘hath beene diuers times Acted’, perhaps they are simply to identify that the Clifton of the ‘faire maide’ is that of Nottinghamshire and not one of the many other Cliftons in the country. There is, for example, a folk-story in the Pepys Collection that appears to be based on an early Nottinghamshire ballad but which may refer to the Clifton near Bristol, *A warning for married women... To a gallant West-country tune, cal’d The fair maid of Bristol; or Bateman....*²

On 8th June 1603 a ballad was entered in the Stationers’ Register, *A Godly Warning for all Maidens*, about a Nottingham girl who promises herself to a ‘proper handsom youth, young Bateman cal’d by name’. It is quite likely that this story of Bateman and the maid of Clifton would already have been familiar to a seventeenth-century audience, particularly one from Nottinghamshire, and it may have been this ballad that influenced Sampson when he wrote his play, probably between 1625 and 1635.³ This would have been after his collaboration with Markham around 1622 and during his employment

¹ Sampson, William. *The Vow Breaker, or The Faire Maide of Clifton*. London: Norton, 1636.

All *Vow Breaker* references are to my modern spelling edition and are given after quotations in the text.

² Anon. *A Warning for Married Women, Being an Example of Mrs Jane Reynolds (a west-country-Woman) ...* London: (printed for) Thackeray & Passinger, 1657. [Pepys 4.101]

³ Anon. *A Godly Warning for all Maidens, by the example of Gods Judgement shewed on one Jermans Wife of Clifton, in the County of Nottingham, who lying in Child-bed, was born away and never heard of after. To the Tune of, The Ladis Fall*. London: (printed for) Thackeray & Passinger. Entered in the Stationers’ Register June 8, 1603 by Edward Aide, entry 2864 (Hyder Rollins’s ‘Analytical index to the Ballad Entries in the Stationers’ Register’); 1686-88 Cyprian Blagden’s ‘Notes on the Ballad Market in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century’. [Pepys 1.504/5].

with Willoughby before publication in 1636. Sampson appears to have been writing in particular for Nottinghamshire people as, in this year, he also published a volume of poems, most of which were dedicated to the memory of distinguished local people.

Sampson tells the story of *The Vow Breaker, or The Fair Maid of Clifton* by way of an introduction to the play:

This faithless woman, by her friends' consent
Plighted her troth to Bateman, straight not content
With his revenue. Coveting for more
She marries Jermane for his wealthy store.
Their parents jarred, and never could agree
Till both of them were drowned in misery.
Young Bateman hangs himself, for love of her:
She drowns herself (guilt plays the murderer);
His ghost affrights her, sad thoughts do her annoy,
(Alive or dead, 'tis she he must enjoy). [Illustration 1-10].

In his Prologue, Sampson makes it clear that the tale he is telling is one with which his audience are likely to be acquainted, as he assures any possible critics of his play:

... ere they were bom
The story that we glance at then was worn
And held authentic ... [Prologue 13-15].

Sampson's play is, principally, about Anne Boote, a Nottingham girl who exchanges vows and a love token with Bateman before he goes away to fight the French in Scotland. Her father had, at first, agreed to this liaison, but then persuades his daughter to accept an alternative and wealthy suitor. During Young Bateman's absence Anne is wooed and won by this man and, on the very day of Bateman's return from war, she breaks her vow to him and marries the elderly Jermane. An integral part of the story is the threat made by Bateman in which he vows that Anne will always belong to him,

even though she has married another. The consequences of her action are tragic for both families.

There are many ballads, songs, and poems with a similar theme, some of them using the name of Bateman, and these indicate the popularity of the 'Bateman' story across many generations. I have researched extensively into these ballads, chap-books, even musical compositions, where the story of the 'maid of Clifton' may be seen to have influenced other literary compositions.

When A. E. H. Swaen reviewed Hans Wallrath's dissertation, he expressed the opinion that it was a matter of regret that Wallrath had paid little attention to his 'interpretation' of the text:

Evidently Herr Wallrath is not well read in Elizabethan and Jacobean literature, which would account for the fact that he has not a word to say on the history of the ballad of 'Bateman' and that he has passed in silence several references to then popular songs.⁴

Swaen asserts that, although Wallrath believes that this ballad [of 1603] was the source for Sampson and states categorically '*The Vow Breaker* is based on a ballad to be found in Ritson's Collection 'Ancient Songs and Ballads' (London, 1829) under the title 'Bateman's Tragedy', Wallrath fails to mention details connected with this 'interesting' song.⁵

The ballad itself may have been based on a much earlier legend, although there are many details in this that do not appear in any folk-song. However, as it is likely that

⁴ Swaen, A. E. H. 'Notes on Ballads and Tunes in W. Sampson's *Vow-Breaker*'. *Neophilologus* (Springer Netherlands) 3.1. (Dec. 1918). 149-154.

⁵ Wallrath, p. 13.

Sampson was brought up in south Nottinghamshire, he may have been familiar with this legend as well as the ballad of 1603.

According to the Rector of Clifton, writing in 1906, the tradition of the 'maid of Clifton' was based on fact, dating from the fifteenth century.⁶ The maid, Margaret, was believed to have been a descendant of the de Rhodes family and fell in love with a young man from a modest but good family, with whom she shared a betrothal token, a gold piece. The young man, Bateman, serving as a squire to Sir Gervase Clifton, then went off to fight in the Wars of the Roses. According to the story, Gervase was fatally wounded in the Battle of Bosworth; his squire returned to Nottingham but then went off to France with the crusader Sir William Clifton. Margaret, according to the Reverend Bruce, after three long years without her love, was wooed and won by a wealthy local man. Six months after her marriage, Bateman eventually returned after the death of Sir William, bringing with him his master's encased heart to be laid at rest in the church at Clifton. Bateman was distraught to find that Margaret had broken her promise and, in absolute despair, threw himself into the Trent. As for Margaret, Bruce tells that she was full of guilt and was dragged into the river by a demon in the grove below Clifton Hall.

There is, however, little evidence to support the Reverend Bruce's tale although it contains elements of truth and it may well have been a well-known legend in Nottinghamshire. My research has revealed that Sir Gervase Clifton did, indeed, support Richard III at Bosworth but his 'mortal' injuries appear to be inaccurately reported by Sir John Beaumont in his poem of 1629, *Bosworth Field*, and later 'confirmed' in a watercolour drawing in Nottingham's Castle Museum by Reuben

⁶ Bruce, Rosslyn. *The Clifton Book (Nottingham)*. Nottingham: Saxton, 1906. V. pp. 23; 65-70. (It is interesting to note that the Revd Rosslyn Bruce was a direct descendent of Clifton family.)

Bussey, *Death of Sir Jervais Clifton at Bosworth Field* (1878).⁷ ‘Gervase Clyfton, Knt’ is actually recorded as being appointed High Sheriff of Nottingham on the 4th November 1487, which would prove that (if he were the same man) he was alive after 1485.⁸ A. C. Webb believes that Clifton did survive Bosworth and states that he died in 1491.⁹ There is no evidence of any squire accompanying Sir Gervase Clifton and a preliminary search of the de Rhodes’s history in the fifteenth century has revealed very little detail of the family, and no mention of a possible ‘Margaret’. Webb’s belief that Clifton died in 1491 may possibly be mistaken as Gervase did have a son of the same name who died in 1508: it has not been possible to confirm, therefore, which Gervase was the Sheriff of the county.¹⁰

Even the factual background to Sir William Clifton appears unclear. Although he may have been a late crusader in the fifteenth century, it is unlikely that he would have been fighting the Turks in France. On a shelf in the vault of St. Mary’s Church, Clifton, there is certainly a small leaden casket said to contain a heart but, as a Colonel Sir William Clifton did fight and die in France in 1683, maybe it was his heart that was brought back to Nottingham. According to a local historian, it has always been believed that there is a heart in the case, but that the name of its owner has been lost.¹¹

In addition to folk-story and ballad sources, there is also a play that may possibly have influenced Sampson. Philip Ayres believes that interest in Sampson’s play

⁷Gervase Clifton (1438-91), MSS Collections, Clifton Family Estates, University of Nottingham.

⁸Meaby, Tweedale (ed). *Nottinghamshire Extracts from the County Records of the Eighteenth Century*. Nottingham: Foreman, 1947. p. 279.

⁹Webb, A. C. ‘Notes on the Early History of the Clifton Family’. *Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Notts.* 37 (1933) pp. 32-34.

¹⁰University of Nottingham, Clifton Family MSS, inform that Gervase (senior) died in 1491.

¹¹I am indebted to Mrs Eileen Small of Clifton Village for her guided tour of St. Mary’s Church, Clifton.

has tended to centre on its possible relationship to the lost two-part play *Black Bateman of the North* [but] beyond the fact that Sampson's hero is called Bateman . . . there is very little to suggest a connection.¹²

In 1598, the Lord Admiral's servants performed *Black Bateman of the North*. This play was written in two parts: the first by Chettle, Wilson, Drayton and Dekker, and the second by Chettle and Wilson, produced later in the year. 'Henslowe's Diary' mentions the play (classed as a 'murder') but apparently neither part was ever printed and there are believed to be no extant copies. No evidence is available, therefore, to enable research to determine as to whether this play refers to the legend or even whether it influenced Sampson. However, in 1940 Kathleen Tillotson reports that in his

Elizabethan Drama (1908) F. E. Schelling

seems to have been the first to suggest that William Sampson's *The Vow Breaker or The Faire Maide of Clifton* (1636) is 'no doubt a making over of *Black Batman* or *Bateman of the North* of Henslowe's mention'. He does not argue the question and apparently bases this assumption solely on the fact that Sampson's hero is called James Bateman. . . . The objection might be raised that the title of the Henslowe play suggests that Bateman is a villainous character, while *The Vow Breaker* shows him as an innocent victim of a heartless jilt. But his appearance as a ghost, arousing the heroine to repentance and ultimately leading to her death by drowning, surely justifies the epithet 'black' in the not uncommon sense of 'deadly, baneful'.¹

It is interesting to see the reference to 'Sampson's hero James Bateman', because there is no mention of 'James' in either the legend or the 1603 ballad, although it is not clear whether the phrase is Tillotson's or whether she is quoting from Schelling. However, as James Bateman was named as author of several of the broadsides and chap-books published between 1720 and 1813, and the original ballad *A Godly Warning to all*

¹² Ayres, Philip. 'Production and Adaptation of William Sampson's "The Vow Breaker" 1636 in the Restoration'. *Theatre Notebook*. 27 (1973) 145.

¹ Tillotson, Kathleen. 'William Sampson's "The Vow Breaker" (1636), and the lost Henslowe play "Black Bateman of the North"'. *Modern Language Review*. 35 (1940), 377-8.

Maidens was subtitled *Bateman's Tragedy*, it is possible that these may have resulted in the name referred to in the quotation.

Regarding the title of *Black Bateman*, it is relevant to mention here that in the Borowitz Collection of True Crime, housed at Kent University, Ohio, a copy of *Bateman's Tragedy* is included in the crime broadsides:

A tale of a man who commits suicide and after the fact, his ghost takes back his faithless lover. For where soever she did go, her fancy did surprise, young Bateman's pale and ghastly ghost, appear'd before her eyes.¹⁴

According to Professor Cara Gilgenbach of Kent University, the ballad is included in this collection of true crime because it refers to suicide - a common occurrence in many crime cases, especially related to love triangles and, also, because suicide was considered a 'common law' crime in England.¹⁵ In addition, the story contains an abduction of sorts (by a ghost), so that is also a type of crime-related occurrence. It may be for these reasons that Schelling believed that Sampson's play was influenced by the Henslowe play. Gerald Bentley, however, firmly discounts any association between *The Vow Breaker* and *Black Bateman*.¹⁶

Most of the deaths occurring in *The Vow Breaker* and the related ballads and stories are caused by suicide: in a study of self-destruction among children and adolescents in early modern England, Terence Murphy notes that it was largely a function of youth and was

¹⁴Linderman, Eric. *Borowitz Crime Ephemera: Criminal Broad-sides of 17th Century England*, (Inventory), prepared 17.03.97, updated 13.05.04. Kent University, Ohio.

¹⁵I am indebted to Prof. Cara Gilgenbach, Special Collections & Archives, Kent University, Ohio, USA for information about the Borowitz Collection.

¹⁶Bentley, Gerald Eades. *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, 7 vols, 1956. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997. vol 5. pp. 1042-5. ['I see no reason to associate the titles; the Young Bateman of this play could certainly not be called black; he is an abused lover. The ballad, the action ..., the characterisation ... and the moralising verses ... all make Ann the sinner, not Bateman.']

a serious problem.¹⁷ Among the most common reasons for suicide were those of retaliation and revenge, as well as loss of a loved one - motives seen in the tragedies associated with *The Vow Breaker*.

Suicidal deaths during this period were also seen among children who disobeyed their authoritarian parents and consequently, feared them. Although we see that Bateman is distraught at his loss and determined on revenge, Anne and the other 'maidens' are in great turmoil: they are young and fall in love but are then put under great pressure to obey their parents and are subsequently overwhelmed with guilt and misery for being unfaithful.

There is another point about suicide that is relevant to the Bateman story. In *The Vow Breaker* Bateman hangs himself, in despair and also, perhaps, to punish Anne. From the woodcuts and from other versions of the incident, it is seen that he took his own life in front of her door. The location of his suicide on Anne's property emphasises the blame that he wished to place on her as, in the early modern period, if suicide took place on parents' property, for example, this was to 'irrefutably' accuse the parent of oppression so unbearable that it had driven the young person to murder and damn himself. In addition, it was believed that the site of a suicide was popularly regarded as accursed and subject to haunting by the unquiet spirit, difficult to lay to rest and 'implacably vengeful'.¹⁹

¹⁷Murphy, Terence R. 'Woful Childe of Parents Rage' ... *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 17; 3 (Fall 1986), 264.

¹⁸ Murphy. 'Woful Childe of Parents Rage', p. 269.

¹⁹ - *ibid* - Footnote 37 for this article (p. 270) states: 'The popular folk tale "The Fair Maid of Clifton" or "Young Bateman's Ghost", founded upon an incident that occurred in Nottinghamshire in the late sixteenth century, best exemplifies these points'.

It is possible that Sampson and one of the collaborators of *Black Bateman*, Michael Drayton, were acquainted.²⁰ Kathleen Tillotson acknowledges Drayton as one of the authors of *Black Bateman*, stating that as it is set in Clifton, Nottinghamshire, Drayton might well be expected to have an interest in it as a setting as some of his works ‘testify to a knowledge of the district and his *Elegie [on Lady Penelope Clifton]* shows that he knew Clifton itself.’²¹ Tillotson also suggests that ‘Sampson is an imitative poet, and in his volume of elegies, *Virtus Post Funera Vivit*, he shows an acquaintance with the historical poems of Drayton’. From Oliver Elton’s review of *The Works of Michael Drayton*, we have evidence of Henry Willoughby’s patronage of Drayton, as Elton writes that in 1627 Drayton handwrote his dedication to *The Battaile of Agincourt*: ‘To the noble knighte / my much honord ffrend / the worthy Sr Henry / Willoughby one of the selected / Patrons of thes my latest / Poems / from his Srvant / Mi: Drayton’.²² William Sampson was in the employment of Willoughby at this time and may have already been preparing *The Vow Breaker* and his poems for *Virtus Post Funera Vivit*; it is possible, therefore, that he met Drayton at the home of Henry Willoughby.

In the Preface to his book on murder and witchcraft, Joseph Marshbum refers to the popularity of the ballad at the turn of the seventeenth century, particularly regarding ‘the most exciting topic’ at the time which he believed ‘was that of bloodshed’.²³ He refers to William Sampson as being ‘among the minor dramatists who wrote murder-plays’ and describes, under the heading ‘*The Broken Vow*’ with a date of 1595, ‘a chapbook’ *Bateman’s Tragedy*, (with James Bateman wooing Isabella), and the ballad *A Godly*

²⁰ Michael Drayton (1563-1631).

²¹ Tillotson, Kathleen. *Modern Language Review*. 35, 1,2 (1940), 377-8.

[The *Elegie* is in the collection of poems *Battaile of Agincourt*, (1627). Penelope was the first wife of Gervase Clifton’s grandson - she died 1613 aged 23.]

²² Elton, Oliver. ‘The Works of Michael Drayton’. *Review of English Studies*, 9, 36 (Oct 1933) 479.

²³ Marshbum, Joseph H. *Murder & Witchcraft in England, 1550-1640*. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971. pp. viii; xi; 88; 90.

Warning to all Maidens, '[that] in all probability preceded the printing of the chapbook'. There is, however, no evidence that the chapbook was dated, and the earliest ballad registered was that of 1603. Marshburn believes that 'it is possible that the nonextant play *Black Bateman of the North*, in two parts, may have been founded upon this incident' but, as he considers that the earliest relating of the story is that of the ballad, registered (as is known) after *Black Bateman*, this would not appear to be possible.

The first known registration of the ballad was in 1603: to give it its full title, *A Godly Warning for all Maidens, by the example of Gods Judgement shewed on one Jermans ' Wife of Clifton ' in the County of Nottingham ' , who lying in Child-bed, was born away and never heard of after. To the tune of The Ladis Fall* The ballad never mentions the maid's name although Bateman is given due credit:

At last a proper handsom youth,
young Bateman cal'd by name,
In hope to make a married wife,
unto this maiden came.

[Pepys 1.504/5; 11.21-24].

The arrival of 'Jerman' is referred to and the girl's attraction to him is explained, 'Because he was of greater wealth, and better in degree'. When Bateman finds out that she has been unfaithful, he makes his threat absolutely clear:

Thou shalt not Live one quiet hour
for surely I will have
Thee either now alive or dead,
when I am laid in grave,
Thou faithless mind thou shalt repent,
therefore be well assur'd,
When for thy sake thou hear'st report,
what torments I endur'd.

[11.57-64].

On the girl's wedding day Bateman 'hangs himself before the Brides own door' and then his 'pale and ghastly Ghost appear'd before her eyes'. In this ballad the maid's baby is clearly referred to as a boy:

[Ballad] The Babe unborn did safely keep,
 as God appointed so,
 His Mothers body from the fiend
 that sought her overthrow. [11.93-96].

In Sampson's play the baby is a girl. Magpie asks whether it is a 'man-child'. 'No,' replies Prattle, 'It is one of us.'²⁴ A bawdy discussion takes place over the baby's gender where reference appears to be made to testicles not yet descended, and Boote expresses disappointment that the baby is not a boy:

Boote: ... What wares bears my little infidel?
 ... I mean, carries it an English pen and ink-horn, or a Dutch
 watch [and] tankard?
 ... Is it a boy? Has it a purse and two pence in it?

Prattle ... It has a purse and no money in't yet but it may have, and it
 please the destinies.

Boote A purse and no money? By Saint Anthony! I thought the
 groom went drunk to bed; he stole to't so early ... [4.3.62-73].

The ballad finishes with 'the Child-bed woman' being borne away 'to what place no creature knew' and ends up with the moral of the story, also used by Sampson:

You Maidens that desire to love,
 and would good husbands chuse
To him that you do vow to love
 by no means do refuse.
For God that hears all secret Oaths,
 will dreadful vengeance take,
On such that of a wilful vow
 do slender reckoning make. [11.129-136].

²⁴ Sampson 4.3.3-4.

This ballad was collected by Pepys and may be found in the Roxburghe Collection.

Another ballad in the Collection is on a theme so similar that it must surely have been based on that of 1603. *A Warningfor Married Women, Being an Example ofMrs Jane Reynolds (a west-country-Woman) born neer Plimouth who havingplighted her troth to a Seaman, was afterwards married to a Carpenter, and at last carried away by a Spirit, the manner how shallpresently be recited. To a west-country Tune, called, Thefair maid ofBristol: Bateman, or, John True.* In this ballad, the maid falls in love with a young sailor:

And to each other secretly,
they made a solemn vow.
That they would ever faithful be
whilst Heaven afforded life
He was to be her Husband kind
and she his faithful Wife.

[Pepys 4.101; w.4,5].

For ‘three long years’ she waits for him when he is away at sea and when news comes that he has died and has been buried she mourns him for a long time but at last she allows a carpenter to woo her. They fall in love, marry and have three children. During his absence a spirit comes to her in the name of her first love to say that he is on his way home to marry her and take her back to sea with him, as he is now a rich man and can offer her everything that her carpenter husband can not. He resists her pleas to allow her to stay with her husband and children, and at last she is tempted by ‘these fair tales [and] to love him she began’. The story has, of course, a sad ending. She vanishes and when her husband returns to find that she has gone and has left the children, he is absolutely distraught and goes off and hangs himself:

He beat his brest, he tore his hair,

tears fell from his eyes,
And in the open streets he run,
with heavy doleful cries.

And in this sad distracted case
he hang'd himself for woe,
Upon a tree neer to that place,
the truth of all is so.

[w.30-31]

This west-country ballad is also the inspiration for a folk song, of which there are nearly two hundred versions printed, known variously as *The Daemon Lover*, *The House Carpenter*, or *James Harris*.²⁶ The ballad has been sung by many folk singers including Bob Dylan, who recorded it as *House Carpenter* in 1961, in which a sailor, James Harris, returns from the 'salt, salt sea' to find that his love has already married a 'house carpenter'. He persuades her to go away with him to Italy,

So up she picked her babies three
And gave them kisses, one, two, three
Saying 'take good care of your daddy while I'm gone
And keep him good company'.

[v.5].

In this version of the story, there is no mention of the fate of the faithful husband, but when the lover sails away with the young wife, he promises her that they are destined for 'the hills of hell-fire': they both vanish 'When the ship all of a sudden, it sprung a leak / And it drifted to the bottom of the sea' [v.10].

In the George Hodges Collection of music held by the Library of Congress a manuscript may be found, *The Fair Maid of Clifton. Funeral anthem by Edward Hodges, 1827*.²⁷ Edward Hodges was born in Bristol in 1796 but spent most of his life in Toronto and

²⁶ *The Daemon Lover*. [Child 243].

²⁷ *George Hodges Collection*, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington D.C. (MSS Box 7).

New York where he composed almost exclusively for the church although he was also a keen collector of antiquarian music. It is not known whether Hodges was familiar with Margaret (or Anne) of the Nottingham ballad, and so it may be that his 'Fair Maid of Clifton' refers to Mrs Jane Reynolds.

Another seventeenth century ballad collected by Pepys that has a similar theme and is from a part of the country distant from Nottinghamshire is *The broken Contract; or, The Perjured Maiden** The description under the title explains that

being a Relation of a young Maid in Kent, who had promised to Marry a young Merchant, went afterwards to Marry a Knight, and was struck Dumb as the Minister was Marrying of her.

We are prepared in the opening verse for her fateful demise: 'She broke her vow and now is Dead'. The ballad recounts that after a merchant and a young 'most beautiful' maiden fell in love and pledged to marry 'speedily' on Valentine's Day, the youth left for London 'to buy all things for th' Wedding Day', leaving her with 'great store of Gold' as a pledge.

But mark what happen'd the mean while.

While the young Merchant he was gone
A Knight with Coach and Six did come,
With Footmen running by his side,
This Knight did Court her for his Bride.

[Pepys 5.329; v. 11].

It soon becomes clear that, with her love 'being out of sight', the maiden turns her attentions to the new and more wealthy suitor. She is not destined to live 'happy ever after', of course. The wedding is arranged quickly but 'mark what Judgments fall on some, / When she would speak she was struck dum [v.13]'

28 Anon. *The broken Contract; or The Perjured Maiden*. [London]: Moore (Printer), nd. [Pepys 5.329].

She languished a day or two,
And then this World she bid adieu.
With this Advice to those unwed,
To keep their Vows they promised.

[v. 15].

To complete the sorry story, when the Merchant hears that ‘his Love was dead and gone’, the young lover ‘went on Board to sail the Main, / And vow’d he’d nere return again’.

A chap-book in prose was published early in the eighteenth century, *Bateman’s Tragedy; or, the Perjur’d Bride justly Rewarded: being the History of The Unfortunate Love of German’s Wife and young Bateman*. This tells the story in seventeen pages of how ‘James Bateman, Son to a Gentleman of Nottingham-shire, a Person well Educated, but (by his Father’s too much Liberality,) of no great Fortune’ woos the beautiful Isabella.²⁹

Bateman is welcomed into the family but then we learn that his ‘Countenance changed to a Sullen and Melancholly’ when he sees that Isabella is very attracted to a newcomer, German. Her father makes it clear to Bateman that he is now an undesirable suitor as he is not wealthy enough for Isabella. While Bateman

[was] upbraiding his expected Father with Ingratitude, in rushes German, who had heard in the next Room what had passed, with his drawn Sword and made a full Pass at him; but he nimbly put it aside and drawing, wounded him in the Breast, whereupon he fell dead to the Ground; and thereupon Bateman was forced to make his Escape. [p. 12].

²⁹Anon. *Bateman’s Tragedy; or, the Perjur’d Bride justly Rewarded: being the History of The Unfortunate Love of German’s Wife and young Bateman*. London: Brown & Norris, 17120. [Ten editions are in the British Library. The 1720, 1750 and 1783 editions may also be found on ECCO.]

It soon transpires, however, that German is not dead after all, and Isabella (disguised as a milkmaid) meets Bateman:

[they renew their] Vows of eternal Love and Constancy, that nothing but Death should be able to separate them; and, to bind it, he broke apiece of Gold, giving her the one half and keeping the other himself. [p.13].

This scene is another reminder of how closely the chap-book was based on the 1603 ballad. Bateman hears of Isabella's impending marriage to German while he is away hunting and 'fearing the worst, he hasted the next Morning to Clifton' where he finds that the wedding has just taken place. In a rage, he has 'the thought to fall on his Sword; but then Desire of Revenge interposed, not to fall alone'. He receives no answer to his letter to Isabella and so he hangs himself before the door of the bridal chamber, with a note on his breast:

False Woman of thy Vows and Oaths have dread
For thou art mine by them, alive or dead. [p. 16].

The story ends with Bateman's ghost stalking Isabella, patiently waiting until her child is bom. In the chap-book, however, Isabella is not drowned, she vanishes with 'a Clap of Thunder, and a Clap of Lightning', leaving behind a strong smell of sulphur in the room. In this edition of the chap-book the final six pages consist of the ballad of *A Godly Warning to all Maidens* ... with three attractive woodcuts.

Henry Kirk White (1785-1806) was bom in Nottingham and wrote a volume of poems when he was only seventeen, two of which refer to the old legend: one is actually

entitled *The Fair Maid of Clifton*, the other is *Clifton Grove*.ⁱⁿ *The Fair Maid of Clifton*, described by Kirke White as '4A New Ballad, in the old style', tells how Margaret promises Bateman that she will remain faithful to him while he is away with 'Clifton, his Lord':

And the maid she vow'd she would bear him true,
And thereto she plighted her troth;
And she pray'd the fiend might fetch her away
When she forgot her oath. [v. 4; p. 189].

When Bateman returns 'to demand his betrothed bride' he is resolute in his decision:

And when he heard the dreadful news,
No sound he uttered more,
But his stiffen'd corse, ere the mom was seen,
Hung at his false one's door. [v. 9].

After her child has been born Margaret knows that 'she must instantly go to her tomb' and so she begs the priest and her relations to bar the doors and watch her while she sleeps, but this is to no avail and she awaits 'the fiends [that] would bear her thence'.

Clifton Grove gives more detail to the promises of faithfulness made by the 'beauteous' Margaret and to the dividing of the ring:

'Hear me, just God! If from my traitorous heart
My Bateman's fond remembrance e'er shall part,
If, when he hail again his native shore,
He finds his Margaret true to him no more,
May fields of hell, and every power of dread
Conjoin'd, then drag me from my peijur'd bed,
And hurl me headlong down these awful steeps,
To find deserving death in yonder deeps!'
Thus spake the maid, and from her finger drew
A golden ring, and broke it quick in two;

30(a) White, Henry Kirke. *The Works of H. Kirke White, containing his life, poems and Melancholy Hours*. London: Yorke Clarke, 1850.

(b) Godfrey, John. & J. Ward. *The Homes and Haunts of Henry Kirk White*. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, 1908. pp. 185-215.

One half she in her lovely bosom hides,
The other, trembling, to her love confides.
'This bind the vow', she said, 'this mystic charm,
No future recantation can disarm;
The right vindictive does the fates involve,
No tears can move it, no regrets dissolve'. [p. 204].

When Bateman returns from three years in some 'foreign land' he is agonised to find that Margaret has broken her promise to him and has married another. In this version of the legend, we see that Bateman dies by drowning (as in Sampson's play). Gazing into the 'sweet' waters of the Trent he sees in his imagination Margaret lying with 'Germain':

Convulsive now, he clench'd his trembling hand,
Cast his dark eye once more upon the land,
Then, at one spring he spumed the yielding bank,
And in the calm deceitful current sank. [p. 206].

There is no ghost to frighten Margaret in this poem, but, after safely giving birth to her child, she vanishes during the night and is found 'in the deeps intomb'd' having been, so the 'neighbouring rustics' believe, borne away 'By the fell demons, to the yawning wave, / Her own, and murder'd lover's, mutual grave' [p. 207].

Cornelius Brown, writing in 1891, tells of 'one of the most romantic legends in the county', that of the Fair Maid of Clifton, but his comments appear to be based solely on Kirke White's poems.³¹

Margaret was the peerless beauty of Clifton, and as such had many lovers, of whom to young Bateman she gave the preference. After the two had exchanged vows one night, he told her he had to go to a foreign land for three years. Then, as an earnest of her constancy to him, she broke her ring in two pieces, giving him one part and keeping the other herself. [When Bateman heard of her

³¹ Brown, Cornelius. *A History of Nottinghamshire*. London: Stock, 1891. 'Legend, tradition and anecdotes', pp. 265-280.

marriage. He was] driven wild with grief [and] plunged into the silent waters of the Trent... [Margaret] rushed to the river and there found a watery grave with the lover whom she had forsworn.

Elements of the legend behind *The Vow Breaker* may be seen in Walter Scott's *Bride of Lammermoor* published in 1819, based on a true tragedy of 1669 that was often talked about in Scott's boyhood home.³⁹ The story absorbed by Scott over the years was that Janet Dalrymple was forced by her domineering mother to withdraw her vow to marry her true love and, on her wedding night to an approved suitor, she stabbed her new husband in a fit of madness, dying two weeks later without recovering her wits. It is possible that Scott used not only the Dalrymple story for inspiration but also Sampson's *The Vow Breaker*, as there is still a 1636 edition of this play in Scott's library at Abbotsford, and there are many similarities between it and *Lammermoor*. There is no evidence that Scott was influenced by Sampson's play, the Abbotsford copy is not annotated, but its presence in the library would suggest that Scott had read it, and he may have had it in mind - as well as the Dalrymple legend, when he wrote his novel.

In his Introduction to the book, Scott recounts in some detail the tragedy befalling the Dalrymple family and the reasons why Janet's mother, Lady Stair, feels no compunction in breaking off the engagement.³³ It can immediately be seen why Anne Boote's father is able to disregard his daughter's betrothal to Bateman, believing that his own change of heart is able to overcome the original agreement. In *Lammermoor*, too, Lucy Ashton's father at first acknowledges her relationship with her lover, but then (urged by his wife) feels antagonism towards Ravenswood and supports the break-up.

³² Scott, Walter. *The Bride of Lammermoor* [from *Tales of my Landlord*], (1819), ed. F. Robertson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. p. vii.

³³ Scott's Introduction (1830), pp. 1-6.

Scott reminds us of the statutes that the Lord commanded Moses: we read in the Old Testament... ‘between the father and his daughter, being yet in her youth in her father’s house’:

If a man ... swear an oath to bind his soul with a bond he shall not break his word, he shall do according to all that proceedeth out of his mouth.

If a woman also ... bind herself by a bond, being in her father’s house in her youth, and her father hear her vow, and her bond wherewith she hath bound her soul, and her father shall hold his peace at her; then ... every bond wherewith she hath bound her soul shall stand.

But if her father disallow her in the day that he heareth; not any of her vows, or of her bonds wherewith she hath bound her soul, shall stand; and the Lord shall forgive her, because her father disallowed her.³⁴

From Scott’s account of the Dalrymple tragedy in the Introduction, we learn that in a promise similar to that made between Anne and Bateman, Janet and her lover ‘broke a piece of gold together and pledged their troth in the most solemn manner, and it is said the young lady imprecated dreadful evils on herself should she break her plighted faith’ [p. 2]. In a similar situation to that of Bateman and Isabella, Scott’s couple were engaged without the knowledge of her parents, thus providing the justification to break off the engagement.

There are many similarities between *The Bride of Lammermoor* and *The Vow Breaker*. In both stories the daughter’s relationship with her lover is known about by the father and not forbidden [*Lammermoor* quotations are followed by those from *The Vow Breaker*]:

he [Sir William Ashton] seemed to have a liking for you, and to be sensible of the general advantages to be attained by such a match [25. p. 263].

³⁴Numbers 30.2-5.

Boote, Boote, Boote! Thou art malapert, false, proud
A wretched miscreant and dissembler!
... Thy hand enstated hers ...

Was't not thine own motion, did'st not give way
And enter course to their privacies? [I.i.84-85, 87; 106-108].

The pledge given to seal the betrothal between the young lovers is a piece of shared gold, and this promise is seen in *Lammermoor* and *The Vow Breaker*.

The lovers [went] through an emblematic ceremony of their troth-plight, of which the vulgar still preserve some traces. They broke betwixt them the thin broad-piece of gold ... 'And never shall this leave my bosom,' said Lucy, ... 'until you, Edgar Ravenswood, ask me to resign it to you; and, while I wear it, never shall that heart acknowledge another love than yours'. [20. p. 209].

Bateman: Here is a piece of gold, 'tis but a little one
Yet big enough to tie and seal and know
A jugal knot on earth ... Say thou so, too, and then
When either of us breaks this sacred bond
Let us be made strange spectacles to the world

Anne: Amen, say I,
And let heaven loathe me when I falsify. [1.1.218-225].

In both versions of the tale, a disapproving parent is quick to provide alternative attraction for the girl when the lover does not contact her: Lucy Ashton's mother destroys all communication between the young couple with the result that 'there were neither letters from nor news of Ravenswood', and Anne's father is delighted that she hears nothing from Bateman, and so he is able to tempt her with a wealthy, albeit elderly, suitor.

There is also a similarity to be seen in the versions of the threat issued by the thwarted lover to the girl. In Scott's version of the Dalrymple story,

the plighted suitor ... burst forth into a tremendous passion, took leave of the mother with maledictions, and as he left the apartment, turned back to say to his weak, if not fickle, mistress: 'For you, madam, you will be a world's wonder', a phrase [Scott tells the reader] by which some remarkable degree of calamity is usually implied. [Intro, p. 3].

In Scott's *Lammermoor*, Ravenswood throws into the fire the piece of gold returned to him by Lucy and angrily addresses her:

To you madam ... I have nothing farther to say, except to pray to God that you may not become a world's wonder for this act of wilful and deliberate peijury. [33. p. 328].

Bateman issues the most dire of the threats when he warns Anne that death will be the only reason he will be separated from her - 'Alive or dead, I shall enjoy thee then' [I.i.50] - and after her betrayal and marriage to Jermane, Bateman's ghost makes her destiny absolutely clear with his final words:

I'll lead thee to the ever-flaming furnace
That, like a fever fed by opposite meats,
Engenders and consumes itself with heat.
I'll pierce the air as with a thunder bold
And make thy passage free. Make speed away,
Thy broken contract now thou go'st to pay. [4.3.213-218].

In addition, the tragedy awaiting all the young people is inevitable. The impending doom of the young brides is made clear on their wedding nights with the result that Lucy goes mad and dies soon after, and Anne leaves her childbed to go and drown herself. The lives of the betrayed lovers end in despair, too: Lucy's lover vanishes - his figure 'became invisible, as if it had melted into the air' and Anne's Bateman hangs himself on her wedding day. Even the new husbands have little future: Lucy's Bucklaw recovers from his injuries but 'afterwards went abroad and never returned to Scotland' and, after their wedding, Anne's Jermane is never heard of again.

Another nineteenth century publication relating to 'Bateman' is *The Loving Ballad of Lord Bateman*, published in 1839, illustrated by George Cruikshank, and attributed to Dickens and Thackeray.³⁵ The ballad tells the story of 'Lord Bateman' who is taken prisoner in Turkey while in 'some foreign country [he has gone] to see'; he is found exhausted and close to death by his captor's gentle daughter to whom he pledges land and property if she can help him escape. The 'fairest' maid 'wows' [=vows] that if they both remain single at the end of 'sevin long years' she will marry him. At the end of this time, she packs up all her 'gay clouthing' and goes to find him but, on arriving at his castle, she discovers that 'he's just now takin' his young bride in'. Undeterred, 'Sophia' sends word that she has arrived; Bateman, 'in passion flew' with excitement at her appearance, dismisses his new bride, and makes immediate preparations to marry Sophia.

This ballad is obviously different from that of 1603 but similarities may be seen. The hero's name is the same and Bateman does go away, but the girl to whom he makes the vow is not left behind as she, too, is far away. He returns from his travels and gets married, apparently without thought of his first love (an action that reminds us of Anne Boote, in Sampson's play) although, when Sophia comes to find him on his wedding day, Bateman immediately leaves the new bride, thus breaking a second vow, and marries her. There is a happy ending in this ballad, unlike that of the 1603 version or the legend: Bateman and Sophia are reunited - and we can deduce from the drawing that even the new bride appears to be satisfied with the outcome.

³⁵ Cruikshank, George (illustrator), [?Dickens C; Thackeray W.M, authors]. *The Loving Ballad of Lord Bateman*. London: Tilt, 1830.

[The text is generally attributed to Thackeray or Cruikshank, the introduction and notes to Dickens.]

During the second half of the nineteenth century there appears to have been something of an explosion of publications based on the maid of Clifton legend. For example, in the British Library may be found Selby's *The Loves of Lord Bateman and the Fair Sophia*, Goodyer's *The Fair Maid of Clifton*, and Lewis's *Alonzo The Brave and The Fair Imogene*: just a few of the totally different, but recognisably similar, versions of the ballad.

'Adapted from the Old Ballad' is *The Loves of Lord Bateman and The Fair Sophia*, a one-act 'historical, pantomimical, melo-dramatical, balletical, burlesque burletta', written by Charles Selby, 'Comedian'. In this dramatic comedy, which carries the subtitle 'The Pathetic History of Lord Bateman and the Fair Sophia', we see a forceful mother of the new bride berating Bateman:

Oh, you wretch — you villain,
You parjur'd, false deceiver -
I've a mind to give you a milling —
Yes, and you, you, you unbeliever,
Didn't you vow and swear
That you would marry my daughter?
And now you come for to dare
Bring a Turkey from over the water.
 Poor Mimini
Your troubles have begun again —
 You, Miss Sophie,
Give her back her man again.

(Scene VIII. p. 28).

This scene appears reminiscent of Act 1, scene 4, of *The Vow Breaker* when Ursula admonishes Anne for refusing 'youthful Bateman to lie with wealthy Jermane', suggesting that she is rejecting 'a mine of virtue for a mountain of muck'. Ursula is so annoyed with Anne (another 'peijur'd false deceiver') that she mumbles under her

36 Selby, Charles. *The Loves of Lord Bateman and the Fair Sophia*. London: Duncombe, ca. 1850.
[First produced at the New Strand Theatre July 1, 1839, Time in Representation 1 hour 15 minutes,
'Duncombe's British Theatre'. Vol 37. 38.]

breath that if Anne goes through with the threatened marriage, ‘may she die of the pip and go to the grave as a sallet for the worms’ [11.109-110].

Although Sophia has come to seek her betrothed and cries ‘My Batey’s false’ when she finds that he has already married another, she is ready to relinquish her claim on him. However, she allows herself to listen to Bateman’s declaration that because he has loved her the longest, ‘therefore *in equity** her right is much the strongest’. After Bateman makes a generous cash payment to Mimi, a new wedding takes place and he marries Sophia with much merrymaking. This play, with a similar story line to *The Loving Ballad of Lord Bateman*, was produced on stage in the same year as Cruikshank’s publication.

The Fair Maid of Clifton, A New and Original Extravaganza ‘by F. R. Goodyer was performed at the Theatre Royal, Nottingham, on 30th March, 1872.³⁷ This was a musical production with characters ‘Incidental to the Piece’:³⁸

Bateman (Squire to Montacute [an *acute* follower of the King’s], beloved by Margaret
Margaret the Fair Maid (whose character having been *blackened* by *White*, we have attempted to paint in her true colour)
Breitmann (a German *arrival* and likewise a *rival* of Bateman’s)
Roger Mortimer, Earl of March (an *early* specimen of immorality - in short, ‘just like Roger’)
Sir William Eland (Constable of Nottingham Castle, who by admitting the King puts Mortimer in *the hole* - hence the origin of ‘Mortimer’s Hole’)
and Isabella, the Queen-Mother (about whom the less said the better. For further particulars of *her story vide English history*.) [Characters].

Margaret describes how she feels (with rather less than Shakespearean eloquence):

Heighho! I feel quite lonely here to day;

♦equity = justice, strictly according to the law.

³⁷ Goodyer, F. R. *The Fair Maid of Clifton*. Nottingham: Earp. 1872.

³⁸ Author’s italics.

I've been so dull since Bateman went away;
He's been a soldiering two years - alack!
I sometimes fancy that he'll ne'er come back.

(II. p. 8).

The literary standard appears to slip even further when Breitmann appears and declares his intentions towards Margaret

Breitmann ... I vish you'd pe mein ffau.

Margaret Your what?

Breitmann Mein vife, I'd like to ved you now.

Margaret It's nonsense Mister Breitmann talking so,
 I love another man as you well know.

Breitmann But he's afay - he ish not here - like me;
 A pird in handts vort doo pirds oop a tree;
 So say your broverb, so I says likewise.
 How nice you look - you've cot sooch loofly eyes (II. p. 9).

Unlike the early ballads or legend where Margaret's suitor has only a minor, although necessary, part to play, it is interesting that Breitmann has an important role in Goodyer's play (perhaps the author particularly enjoyed writing the part in heavily accented English). Bateman (the hero of the 'original' ballad) only speaks in the final scene when he is reunited with Margaret and, with many a 'Joy!' 'Surprise!' 'My darling!' and 'My sweet pet!' they rush into each other's arms. Breitmann then realises that he has been beaten in the race for Margaret's affections and with a 'Poztausend!' he declares that he 'dinks I'll hasten pack to Sharmany' (V. p. 27).

Goodyer's version of the Bateman and Margaret story is pure comedy: there are some clever puns in the speeches, but little subtlety. It is clear, however, that this Nottinghamshire author had the ballad (or even Sampson's play) in mind, and it may

not have been coincidental that one of his characters speaks with a heavy accent.

Sampson's Scottish-speaking French officers would certainly have provided comic relief in the performance of *The Vow Breaker*.

Alonzo the Brave and The Fair Imogene is a 'choral ballad' with a cast of only the two characters of the title and some seventeen verses.³⁹ This ballad, too, may be compared with that of 1603. The 'warrior so bold' is all set to go to fight 'in a far distant land' and is worried that Imogene may not stay true to him, but she reassures him:

And if e'er for another my heart should decide,
Forgetting Alonzo the Brave,
God grant that, to punish my falsehood and pride,
Your ghost at my wedding should sit by my side
Should tax me with peijury, claim me as bride,
And bear me away to the grave! [v. 4. p. 3].

After just twelve months, however, a baron 'all covered with jewels and gold' arrives, woos Imogene, and bestows upon her many treasures that 'made her prove false to her vows', and a wedding is quickly arranged. The wedding feast is soon interrupted by a stranger who sits in silence at the side of Imogene, 'causing all pleasure and laughter [to be] hush'd at his sight'. When Imogene asks him to remove his helmet and join in the festivities, a shock awaits them:

Slowly his visor unclosed:
... When a skeleton's head was exposed!

All present then uttered a terrified shout,
And turned with disgust from the scene,
For the worms they crept in, and the worms they crept out,
And sported his eyes and his temples about,
While the Spectre addressed Imogene. [w. 11-12. pp. 6-7].

³⁹Lewis, M.G. *Alonzo the Brave and The Fair Imogene*. London: Chappell, 1894.

[The words are taken from Lewis's *The Monk* (1796) in which they are described as being from 'an old Spanish ballad'.]

We see, once again, the realisation of the threat that if the vow is broken the young man's ghost will appear to the bride and will carry her off. In this case, it is the promise made by the young woman that is carried through to its terrible conclusion:

God grants that to punish thy falsehood and pride,
My ghost at thy wedding should sit by thy side,
Should tax thee with peijury, claim thee as bride,
And bear thee away to the grave!

[v. 12. p. 7].

When looking at the ballads under the folk-tale classification of 'The Dead Bridegroom carries off his Bride', we see *The Fair Maid of Clifton* ('Ye gallant dames so finely framed in beauty's choicest mould ... ') given the motifs of 'Dead lover's malevolent return', 'Dead lover haunts faithless sweetheart', 'Suicide cannot rest in grave' and 'Dead carry off living'.⁴⁰ This version of the ballad was, apparently 'dictated by a schoolmistress of Wells' Hospital, Nottingham' and it is interesting that there are subtle differences from that in the Pepys Collection: for example in verse 5, 'She broke a piece of gold in twain - one half she gave to him', in Pepys it is the boy who gives it to her, 'He broke

Another ballad where there is a revengeful lover is *The Suffolk Miracle*, ('Dead lover's malevolent return') and similarities can be seen here with *The Fair Maid of Clifton*.

This folk-story tells of a father who also refuses to consent to the marriage of his daughter whose lover then dies from grief but, in this case, the death is kept a secret from the faithful girl. The lover visits her in ghostly form, although (as with Boote) the father is unable to see the image, but when the girl has proof that her lover is, in fact, already dead, she pines away and dies.

⁴⁰ Briggs, Katharine M. *A Dictionary of British Folk-Tales*. 2 vols. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971. part B, vol 1. pp. 449-450.

The actual inspiration behind William Sampson's play still remains an enigma although, regarding the names of local characters, in an article that appeared in the Nottingham Guardian in 1920, 'Y. S. R.' suggests that there are some entries in the Nottingham marriage registers that may be of interest:

Dorothy German 1599
Jane Jarman 1602
Annie German 1609
Germase German 1610
Gervase Ger (sic) 1630
Dorcas German 1636

Just south of Nottingham, in the Barton in - Fabis register, may be found

Henry Boote 1577
Elizabeth Boote 1581
Robert Boote 1583
Jervis Boote 1577

Across the river, in Attenborough registers, are

Jane Boote 1610
John Boot 1611
Thomas Boot 1611
Robert Boot 1617
Francis Boote 1621
Permella Boote 1622
Thomas Boote 1625

'Y. S. R.' points out that the name of Bateman does not appear in any of the Rushcliffe hundred parish registers although it is this name, of course, that is mentioned in all the ballads.⁴¹

⁴¹ Y. S. R. *Fair Maid of Clifton 'Founded on Fact*, Local Notes [&] Queries, 28.02.20, [Nottingham: Guardian], 1920.

Writing in 1908, Robert Mellors refers to the belief of a Captain Matt Barker who wrote in his *Walks round Nottingham, by a Wanderer* (1835), that ‘having made diligent enquiries in the village from those who ought to know if anybody does’ he placed the event of the maid of Clifton at the time of the Wars of the Roses.⁴² Mellors suggests that the reason that the grass has never grown properly ‘on that steep declivity [at Clifton] and the tree that tried to hide the descent was twisted’ is entirely due to the ‘awful transaction’ where ‘the fiend dragged down the fair but faithless Margaret’.

There are many examples over a period of several centuries where the ‘maid of Clifton’ story has been used and abused, but there is no conclusive evidence as to whether it is historical or just a fictional legend, and no evidence as to whether Sampson based his play on the ballad or the traditional tale. It would appear, however, that the folk-story has certainly influenced many authors to write their own versions of *Bateman and the Maid of Clifton*.

⁴² Mellors, Robert. *In and About Nottinghamshire*. Nottingham: J. & H. Bell, 1908. p. 299.

Hans Wallrath - *William Sampson's Vow Breaker* (1914)

My edition of Sampson's play is the first and only modern edition of *The Vow Breaker*.

The only other critical writing on the play is a dissertation written in 1913 by Hans Joseph Wallrath for which he was awarded a doctorate in the Philosophical Faculty of the Westfalian Wilhelms-Universität, Münster.¹ Wallrath was born in 1890 in Oberlahde to a hotel owner and his wife and, after leaving school in 1909, studied modern languages for the next four years at the Universities of Münster, Munich and Berlin. He acknowledges his debt to Professor Dr Keller of Münster who suggested that he write a dissertation on Sampson's play.²

The introduction and notes to Wallrath's edition of *The Vow Breaker* have been translated for me by Dr John Bowden of Sheffield Hallam University, and it is this translation to which reference will be made. Wallrath himself refers to a dissertation written by Hans Wolfgang Singer, 'Das bürgerliche Trauerspiel in England (bis zum Jahre 1800)', Leipzig 1891 [trans: The bourgeois tragedy in England (up to 1800)], and considers that 'Singer discusses the main plot in great detail but hardly mentions the very important secondary plot'. Unfortunately, I have not been able to trace and examine a copy of this dissertation.

Wallrath writes a comprehensive and well-researched introduction to Sampson's play, but has not modernised his copy text which is that from the Dyce Collection held in the

¹Wallrath, Hans. *William Sampson's Vow Breaker*. [Löwen [=Louvain]: n.p. ?Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas, [=Materials for the study of the Old English Drama] 1914. [Page references refer to Wallrath's dissertation.]

²I am indebted to Elisabeth Sawatzky of the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Münster, for this information.

³I am indebted to Dr Bowden for undertaking this task, and thank him.

Victoria & Albert Museum. He does suggest scene divisions, however, and changes some entries and exits. He also incorporates some staging directions - most of these suggesting that the scene be Clifton or outside Leith, and sometimes he gives specific details, for example, 'in Old Bateman's/Boote's house'. Wallrath also footnotes some of the differences between his text and two now in the British Library: presumably this is why he writes that his new edition is based on these London editions (p. 2), although it is clear from the spellings of his text that he has actually used the Dyce copy. There are so many textual differences between the Dyce and the British Library texts that it is easy to identify Wallrath's copy text, even taking into account typographical errors in his dissertation that are not seen in any of the texts that have now been examined.

Wallrath describes his work as a new edition of Sampson's play but although he has inserted some footnotes to the original text, he has actually written an informative criticism, covering many themes. My own introduction to *The Vow Breaker* supplements that of Wallrath: there is inevitably some overlapping of information, but this has been kept to a minimum. When possible, I have confirmed Wallrath's findings and, where repetition is considered useful for clarity of the text, this is usually only recorded in the Commentary

I have been able to confirm that the dates suggested by Wallrath are correct as to when Sampson is known to have been alive, although my research would lead me to question his assumption that Sampson was probably a member of the South Leverton family of the same name (p. 7). There are parish records of Sampsons in different areas of Nottinghamshire, also in Lincolnshire, but no evidence of an appropriate William Sampson, poet and playwright, known to have been employed in Derbyshire from the

early 1620s. I would also suggest that Wallrath may be incorrect in referring to Sampson's 'daughter Hanna' (p. 8), as Henry Willoughby's will appears to refer to only one Hannah, and she is described as 'Hannah Sampson, the wife of my servant William Sampson'.

Wallrath refers to Sampson and the influence of Shakespeare on his work by suggesting that Sampson had learned to admire this 'admirable dramatick poet' and had read his works so assiduously that many of Shakespeare's words found their way into his own drama (p. 35). It may be assumed that Sampson moved in literary circles: he had worked collaboratively with Gervase Markham, his employer was a patron of the arts, and Phineas Fletcher also lived in the household. Sampson had, no doubt, watched many dramatic performances and remembered many speeches: he may even have acted in the plays himself. We do not know. What we do know is that Sampson was unashamed of poaching the words of others - it is only necessary to take a cursory glance at Holinshed to see this. While not disputing that some of Shakespeare's words are to be found in *The Vow Breaker* (and, no doubt, in the works of Sampson's contemporaries), most of the themes used by Shakespeare, and others, are well known and well used and it is unsurprising that Sampson also availed himself of them.

In his criticism of comedy in the play, of which many examples may be found, Wallrath refers specifically to the scene in which Artemidorus Daldianus, interpreter of dreams, is mentioned throughout the childbed scene by the women caring for Anne, describing it as 'almost unbearably fatuous and corny' (p. 28).⁴ Wallrath suggests that as the quotations cannot be proved as being from Artemidorus, it is possible that Sampson

⁴ Artemidorus's *Interpretation of Dreams* is discussed in the Commentary.

introduced them just to provide humour 'in the midst of Mother Prattle's twaddle, as the genuine extracts are not humorous in the original' (p. 32). Wallrath considers that Sampson has failed in his intent, 'this comic scene in the play is thus unsatisfying to us' (p. 32). Although Sampson does not use Artemidorus's explanations, it is clear that he had some recollection of them and, for the purpose of this scene, chose to give his own interpretations. Perhaps a modern audience would accept at face value the comedy that may be found in this and the other comedic scenes in the play.

Wallrath concludes his introduction by expressing his views of the play and, although he qualifies his thinking, it is clear that he has a low opinion of Sampson's literary ability: 'a mixture of scenes ... which no longer appeals to us today'; 'the characters do not develop any more than the plots do. They are not human beings, but mere stereotypes'; Clifton 'is the only ... three dimensional [character]'; 'the play is a pathetic verse drama'; [the speeches] 'become really monotonous in the longer passages'; 'prose is used in all the places other than the pathetic ones' (p. 55).

Although Wallrath could be considered persuasive in his arguments and it may be difficult to disagree with his reasoning, I would argue that he is mistaken in his views that the play would not be appealing. For today's audience this play could be most entertaining: it has many emotions and situations in one short drama - love, hate, forgiveness, revenge, birth, death, comedy, tragedy, war and peace. Wallrath does admit that the 'poor' verse 'is easy for the actor to speak ... and effective on stage' (p. 57). As the play would not have been written specifically for reading, however, but to provide a printed copy of an already successful production, known to have been received with

‘great applause’, I would suggest that its success on stage is surely more important than being ‘easy to read’.

The Influence of Shakespeare on *The Vow Breaker*

The two Shakespeare plays that probably had the most influence on Sampson are *Romeo and Juliet* and *Hamlet*. In his 1914 dissertation the German scholar Hans Wallrath refers to Sampson and the influence of Shakespeare on *The Vow Breaker* by suggesting that Sampson had learned to admire the ‘admirable dramattick poet’. Wallrath is of the opinion that Sampson had read Shakespeare’s works so ‘assiduously’ that many of his words found their way into *The Vow Breaker*.¹ I shall discuss the influence of Shakespeare on Sampson, citing Hans Wallrath where appropriate.

The Vow Breaker takes as its main theme the legend of the maid of Clifton, where similarities may clearly be seen with Shakespeare’s *Romeo and Juliet*, but this play was not, of course, Shakespeare’s original idea and the story may not have been unfamiliar to Sampson. In her Introduction to *Romeo and Juliet*, Roma Gill points out that the earlier story was well-known:

For the source of his play Shakespeare relies almost entirely on a narrative poem, *The Tragical History of Romeus and Juliet*, by Arthur Brooke, which was published in 1562 and is itself a translation of a popular prose fiction by Bandello (published 1554) - which in turn derives from even earlier Italian stories.²

There are several incidents in both plays that are, indisputably, similar. Juliet warns Romeo that he should be careful in his pursuit of her, reminding him that he would be killed ‘considering who thou art, / If any of my kinsmen find thee here’ (R&J 2.2.64-6) and, when Bateman tries to embrace Anne on his return from Leith, she advises,

¹Wallrath, Hans. ‘Literary influences: Shakespeare’, pp. 35 - 50.

²Shakespeare, William, (ed. Roma Gill). *Romeo and Juliet*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001. p. xxxi.

‘’Twere best you travelled from my father’s ground / Lest he indict you’ (2.2.84-5).

Wallrath compares as similar the state of ‘lovesickness’ of the men as they dream under the trees but, in my view, there are some clear differences in the two plays as Sampson is closer to the legend than Shakespeare’s play. Juliet always remains faithful to Romeo whereas Anne breaks her vows with apparent ease and marries an alternative suitor. Romeo kills himself only because he believes that Juliet has already died and he cannot face life without her, whereas Bateman commits suicide swearing that if he is unable to have Anne, no-one else will and his ghost will seek revenge for her unfaithfulness.

With the hanging of Bateman, we see that both he and Juliet liken their grave to their wedding bed:

One twitch will do’t, and then I shall be wed
As firm unto my grave as to her bed. (2.4.40-1).

(Juliet) If he be married
My grave is like to be my wedding bed. (R&J 1.5.138-9).

We again see similarity between the plays after the deaths of the young couples: in both plays we see the warring fathers united in their grief, and the final words of *Romeo and Juliet* and the legend of *The Vow Breaker*, as Wallrath points out, remind the audience of the tragedies enacted before them.

(Prince) For never was a story of more woe
Than this of Juliet and her Romeo. (R&J 5.3.309-10).

(Old Bateman) For never was a story of more ruth,
Than this of him and her, yet nought but truth. (4.3.318-9).

According to Wallrath, *Romeo and Juliet* and *Hamlet* seem to have been Sampson’s favourites of Shakespeare’s plays. No other of Shakespeare’s plays has left their mark

so clearly as these two on Sampson's *Vow Breaker*'. Wallrath regards Shakespeare's influence on Sampson as 'unmistakable but only superficial', and criticises Sampson for not 'delving' deeper into Shakespeare's work, 'as seen particularly in the ghost scenes, where he takes Hamlet as his model'.

It is the opinion of Wallrath that 'the exactly parallel development' of the scenes in *Hamlet* and *The Vow Breaker* in relation to the appearance of the ghost 'clearly shows that Sampson was influenced by Shakespeare. Bateman's ghost, Anne's guilty conscience, appears to her essentially as the royal apparition from Hamlet, adapted to a bourgeois milieu'.

In *The Vow Breaker* Bateman's ghost haunts Anne everywhere, at all times, even during the daytime and has to return to the underworld when the cock crows. We may see similarities with reference to the ghost in Hamlet:

(Anne) It haunts me as my shadow or a vision
It will not let me rest, sleep, nor eat. (3.1.4-5).

(Ghost) I have a time limited to walk
Until the morning cock shall summon me
For to retire to misty Erebus. (3.1.66-8).

(Horatio) The cock, that is the trumpet to the mom,
Doth with his lofty and shrill-sounding throat
Awake the god of day; and at his warning,...
The extravagant and erring spirit hies
To his confine. (Ham. 1.1.150-5).

Wallrath believes that 'the whole thing is a mechanical imitation' of Hamlet. Act 1, scene 5, and that the development of the scene is 'pre-determined by Shakespeare, hence the inconsequential nature of Sampson's conception of the ghost', and the horror

and terror felt by its appearance. Wallrath says that the ‘paralysed’ Anne’s description of her feelings as having ‘frozen up’ is ‘certainly’ borrowed from Shakespeare:

(Anne) Distraction, like an ague, seizes me.
I know not whether I see, hear, or speak:
My intellectual parts are frozen up
At sight of thee, thou fiery effigies
Of my wronged Bateman. (3.1.80-4).

(Ghost) I could a tale unfold whose lightest word
Would harrow up thy soul, freeze thy young blood,
Make two eyes, like stars, start from their spheres
Thy knotted and combined locks to part,
And each particular hair to stand an end,
Like quills upon the fretful porpentine: (Ham. 1.5.15-20).

In *The Vow Breaker* only Anne sees the phantom, and her father and Ursula (who are with her) do not. Wallrath suggests that this is ‘just as only Hamlet sees his father’s ghost in Act 3, but his mother, to whom he is talking, does not’. It should be mentioned, however, that in the opening scene of *Hamlet* Horatio and the soldiers also see the ghost, of course, whereas in *The Vow Breaker* I believe that it is clear that only Anne ever sees it. Further similarity may be seen in these plays in the references to the ghost as it is realised that it looks exactly like the person represented:

(Anne) Young Bateman’s visage;
In every limb as perfect as he lived. (3.1.105-6).

(Hamlet) Why, look you there! Look, how it steals away;
My father, in his habit as he liv’d. (Ham. 3.4.132-4).

Wallrath expresses the view that ‘Anne’s father also claims to have seen the ghost on one occasion’, comparing this experience with that of Hamlet:

(Boote) Art thou of air, of earth, heaven or hell
Or art thou of some incubus’s breed? (5.2.93-4).

(Hamlet) Be thou a spirit of health or goblin damn’d,
Bring with thee airs from heaven or blasts from hell (Ham. 1.4.40-1)

In this scene Ursula rebuffs the attention of Miles who is intent upon declaring his love for her. She quickly takes the opportunity to distract him when she hears her uncle calling her; the old man is suffering from grief at Anne's death. Ursula tells Miles to pretend to be a ghost, to enable them to have a joke at Old Boote's expense; she 'quakes, shakes, trembles and shivers' for effect. 'Ha! Ha! No fool to th'old one!' says Miles gleefully in an aside; 'He takes me for a ghost!' Boote appears to be taken in at first by the deception and then becomes annoyed with Miles and Ursula, when the 'ghost's' identity is revealed. He packs off Miles and orders his niece, 'Mistress, wait you on me!' It may be that Old Boote 'claims' to have seen Bateman's ghost, but this is not made clear in the play and I remain unconvinced that Wallrath is correct in his interpretation of this scene.

Regarding Shakespeare's other plays, there are several with which to illustrate points of similarity. The introduction of Joshua's cat into Sampson's play seems rather incongruous (1.2.88-98) but he may be compared with Launce's dog in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*. Tibert, like Crab, also causes his master a great deal of trouble and is to be hanged as a punishment, although both animals escape this fate. (3.2.1-80; Gent. 2.3.-). It may also be seen that both Joshua and Launce have conversations with their animals (Gent. 4.4.1-44).

Wallrath expresses the view that Sampson has 'only adopted some individual situation, images or short sentences' from Shakespeare's other plays, 'not whole passages as was the case with *Hamlet* and *Romeo and Juliet*'. Wallrath suggests that Anne, at the beginning of *The Vow Breaker*, and Helena, of *All's Well That Ends Well*, 'reproach'

their loves over a farewell kiss although, in my opinion, the kisses between Anne and Bateman appear to give them shared enjoyment (1.1.43; AWW 2.5.85-92).

The manner in which Anne expresses her preference for an older man may be compared to a similar assertion in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*:

(Anne) In nat'ral things we see that herbs and plants
In autumn ever do receive perfection;
As they, so man never attains his height
Till in the autumn of his growing age. (1.4.10-13).

(Lysander) Things growing are not ripe until their season;
So I, being young, till now ripe not to reason (MNP 2.2.117-8).

In the opening scene of *Macbeth* we are introduced to the witches chanting, 'Fair is foul, and foul is fair' - a phrase repeated later by Macbeth, 'So foul and fair a day I have not seen' (Mac. 1.1.11; 1.3.38). There is a very similar phrase in *The Vow Breaker*, in the scene where Anne welcomes Jermane as her husband and justifies her choice to Ursula: 'Gold, like a second nature, can elixate, Make the deformed fair, the fair seem foul' (1.4.52-53).

Another example from *Macbeth* may be seen after Anne has given birth to her baby and the ghost appears to her saying, 'Awake, fond mortal, ne'er to sleep again!' (4.3.192). Macbeth, too, hears a voice cry 'Sleep no more!' (Mac. 2.2.36).

It is only to be expected that when discussing the Siege of Leith in relation to Shakespeare, examples may be found in the history plays. When the French are preparing to ambush the English, Martigues comments:

They now are healthing and carousing deep.
Now is our time to work a stratagem

Gaining these trenches that oppress the town.

(2.1.2-4).

In Part One of Henry the Sixth, similar lines are given to an Englishmen to describe the behaviour of the French:

(Talbot) This happy night the Frenchmen are secure,
Having all day carous'd and banqueted;
Embrace we then this opportunity,
As fitting best to quittance their deceit
Contriv'd by art and baleful sorcery.

(1H6 11-15).

When Miles knows that Bateman is to return home, he asks him to tell Ursula:

I fight for her sake and will live as long as I can, die
when I can no longer live;

(2.1.63-4).

In Henry the Fifth, we see that Nym says something similar to Bardolph:

I will live so long as I may, that's the certain of it; and
when I cannot live any longer, I will do as I may;

(H5 2.1.15-17).

When Bateman returns home from Leith and is surprised by the 'heavy glances' he receives from friends and the tears from his father, he dismisses these omens, telling himself, 'Heaven has a hand in all things' (2.2.33). This phrase may be compared with the Duke of York's explanation of the reaction of the people to Richard, 'But heaven hath a hand in these events' (R2 5.2.37).

Wallrath points out further phrases that are almost exactly the same in Shakespeare as those written by Sampson. For example, lines from *Venus and Adonis* may be compared with those from *The Vow Breaker*. Bateman suddenly realises why Anne is wearing a ring, and Venus instantly recognises the meaning of what Adonis is saying:

(Bateman) And like the deadly bullet from a gun
Thy meaning kills me, ere thy words get vent. (2.2.110-11).

Or, like the deadly bullet of a gun,
His meaning struck her ere his words began (VA lines 461-2).

‘Sampson is almost certainly thinking of Henry Vi’s words’ says Wallrath, when both
Bateman and Henry are expressing their misery at the circumstances affecting them:

(Bateman) ... such an overture and flood of woes
Surrounds me that they almost drowned
My understanding. (2.2.133-5).

(Henry) ... my heart is drown’d with grief,
Whose flood begins to flow within my eye
My body round engirt with misery (2H6 198-200).

After his son’s death Old Bateman wants to hang up his picture so that he can talk to his
son.³ Similarly, Proteus wants a picture of Silvia for his room:

(Old Bateman) I’ll have thy picture hung up in my chamber
And, when I want thee, I will weep to that (2.4.134-5).

(Proteus) Madam, if your heart be so obdurate,
Vouchsafe me yet your picture for my love,
The picture that is hanging in your chamber:
To that I’ll speak, to that I’ll sigh and weep. (Gent. 4.2.122-5).

It may be that both Sampson and Shakespeare were aware of the biblical reference in
the following scenes - Wallrath considers this likely. In *The Vow Breaker* the ghost
speaks to the pregnant Anne telling her that it is not yet carrying her off to the
underworld, because ‘Thy time is not yet come’ (3.1.102); in *Henry the Sixth. Part One*,
Joan fights with Talbot and then leaves him, saying ‘thy hour is not yet come’ (6H1

JThis is also closely paralleled in Kyd’s *The Spanish Tragedy*.

1.5.13). The passage from the Bible reads: 'Then they sought to take Him: but no man laid hands on him, because his hour was not yet come' (John 7.30).

The Merchant of Venice may be the source of Sampson's characterisation of Anne, suggesting that she is as hard as Shylock. When Anne goes to Old Bateman to ask forgiveness, he is suspicious that she is truly penitent:

(Old Bateman) ... to gain
Relenting tears from thy obdurate heart
'Tis impossible as to force fire from snow,
Water from flint, say the sun shall not shine
As well upon the beggar as the king,
That is alike in different to all. (3.3.38-43).

(Antonio) You may as well go stand upon the beach,
And bid the main flood bate his usual height;
You may as well use question with the wolf,
Why he hath made the ewe bleat for the lamb;
You may as well forbid the mountain pines
To wag their high tops, and to make no noise
When they are fretted with the gusts of heaven;
You may as well do anything most hard,
As seek to soften that - than which what's harder? -
His Jewish heart: (MerVen. 4.1.71 -80).

Ursula begs Old Bateman to forgive Anne, 'Forgiveness is an attribute of heaven' (4.3.44) and in a similar manner Portia reminds Shylock, 'mercy is above this sceptre sway ... It is an attribute to God himself (MerVen. 193; 195).

Wallrath is of the opinion that there is only one place in the fifth act that is reminiscent of Shakespeare although he considers that the four preceding acts offer a varied selection from his works. In Act Five, Scene Two, Old Boote is tricked into believing that Miles is a ghost (Wallrath believes that Boote thinks he is actually looking at the ghost of Bateman):

... I will beat thy carcass into a form
That is full substantial and has feeling;
Seeing, hearing, smelling and sweet-tasting ghost (5.2.96-8).

We may see in *The Tempest* that Miranda thinks that Ferdinand is a ghost when she first sees him:

(Miranda) What is't? a spirit? / ...
It carries a brave form: - but 'is a spirit.

(Prospero) No wench; it eats and sleeps, and hath such senses
As we have, such (Temp. 1.2.406; 408-10).

Wallrath concludes that 'there would be little room for echoes of Shakespeare [in the rest of Act Five] since the first scene is taken almost verbatim from Holinshed'.

It is evident that the influence of Shakespeare is seen throughout *The Vow Breaker* - not only in the scenes that remind us of *Romeo and Juliet* and *Hamlet* but also in the many examples where Sampson has used ideas and phrases that come from Shakespeare's plays. It may be assumed that Sampson moved in literary circles: he had worked collaboratively with Gervase Markham, his employer was a patron of the arts, and Phineas Fletcher also lived in the household. Sampson had, no doubt, watched many dramatic performances and remembered many speeches: he may even have acted in the plays himself. We do not know. What we do know is that Sampson was unashamed of poaching the words of others - it is only necessary to take a cursory glance at Holinshed to see this.⁴ While I do not dispute that Shakespeare's words are to be found in *The Vow Breaker* (and, no doubt, in the works of Sampson's contemporaries), most of the themes

⁴ See 'The story of a siege' for quotations from Holinshed.

used by Shakespeare, and others, are well known and well used and it is unsurprising that Sampson also availed himself of them.

John Norton, and the probable nature of the text

John Norton, named as publisher of William Sampson's *The Vow Breaker*, was probably the nephew of John Norton, bookseller, who died in 1612. Sampson's John Norton was a printer who began publishing in 1621; he was elected a member of the livery of the Stationers' Company in 1625, and died in 1640. He was the son-in-law of Matthew Law, bookseller in London 1595-1629.

Norton began printing in partnership with Augustine Mathewes 1624-27, apparently near St. Bride's Church; he moved on to an irregular partnership with Nicholas Okes, 1628-35 in Foster Lane, though they shared imprints only in 1628-29, and continued there when the Okes printing house moved elsewhere. Norton's widow, Alice, kept up his printing house and, in 1642, married Thomas Warren, who took over its management.¹

Sampson's John Norton is not listed in the *Dictionary of National Biography* but he appears to have been a printer of some significance, although Paul Matthews credits Norton's uncle with all his nephew's publications as well as his own, even after his death, for the period 1590 - 1640.² It may be seen from the records in the *Short-title Catalogue* for this John Norton that about two hundred publications are listed against his name, one hundred and twenty up to the end of 1636 when Sampson's *The Vow Breaker* and *Virtus Post Funera Vivit* were published. Sampson's John Norton printed several books of sermons and religion including those of John Jewel, Richard Bancroft

¹Pollard A. W., and Redgrave, G. R. *A Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland & Ireland and of English books printed abroad 1475-1640*, in 3 volumes. London: The Bibliographical Press, 1991.

vol. 3: A printers' and publishers' index ... pp. 127; 204.

²Morrison, Paul G. *Index of printers, publishers and booksellers in A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave's A short-title catalogue*. . . Virginia: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1950.

and Francis Bacon. He also published three of Shakespeare's plays and works of many different authors, including James Shirley, Gervase Markham, and Thomas Heywood.

I have considered whether this 1636 text may have been a prompt copy, or whether it is the author's foul papers. There is no extant manuscript of the play. McKerrow points out:

the original manuscript of a play would not have been written with any thought of the press ... It was merely the substance, or rather the bare bones, of a performance on the stage, intended to be interpreted by actors skilled in their craft, who would have no difficulty in reading it as it was meant to be read.⁴

The 1636 text does not meet the criteria of a genuine prompt copy, as listed by McKerrow. He is of the opinion that the author will probably write in the names of the actors he envisages playing the parts, and that stage directions, properties or characters may be in the text in advance of when they are actually required. In this text there are no hand-written notes and it does not appear to be a copy of the author's manuscript in which could be expected full and unambiguous stage directions. It is clear, however, that the 1636 text includes stage directions that Sampson may have wished to see followed during a performance, which would suggest that the copy given to Norton was in a legible form, with some directions clearly included.

Apart from specific entrances and exits, we also see evidence of stage directions that appear to express clearly the wishes of an author who knows how he wants his play performed:

B1 (p. 428) Enter young Bateman *meeting* Anne
 Kisse at the departure

B4V(p. 432) *A march*, Enter Clifton, Souldiers.

³Full details of works printed by John Norton may be found on Early English Books online.

⁴McKerrow, Ronald B. 'The Elizabethan Printer and Dramatic Manuscripts', *The Library*, 4th series, vol. XII, 3, Dec 1931.

- C2. (p. 433) *After Jkirmifhes Enter ...*
- D1v(p. 437) *Shoote, ...*
the French beate of, place them/elves on the Walls hanging out a head. .
- D2V(p. 438) *Jervis, and Nan are in the Window*
- E1 (p. 440) *Enter Mortique meeting Clifton .*
- E1v(p. 441) *Fight, Clifton difarmes him ...*
Young Bateman insfhirt, a halter about his necke.
- E2V(p. 442) *Falls, hangs, Enter old Bateman i hsfhirt, & Torch.*
- E3 (p. 442) *Boote, Anne, Urfula above.*
- E4 (p. 443) *Enter, Anne haftily, purfuing Urfula, with lights.*
- F2 (p. 445) *Enter Jolhua, his Cat in afiring, ...*
- F4 (p. 447) *Enter Anne, with a Torch, Urfula, Bateman, wailing his Picture.*
- G1 (p. 448) *Takes the Picture.*
Stands between the Picture, & Ghost
- G2V(p. 450) *After Jquirmifhes. Enter Grey, meeting Clifton, with Armour.*
- G3 (p. 450) *Monluck, Crolfe, betweene the Armies.*
- G3V(p. 451) *... Enter .. . Barren with a Child, Anne in bed.*
- H2V(p. 454) *Sleepe. ...*
- H3 (p. 454) *Shee leaving her bed.*
Enter Women bringing Anne.
- H3V(p. 455) *Enter Bateman with his Picture.*
- H4V(p. 456) *... Souldiers on the Walls*
- I1v(p. 457) *Enter Jolhua, reeling with Jacks*
- I2 (p. 457) *... all embrace.*
- I3v(p. 459) *Within.*
Sings.
- I4 (p. 459) *Enter Boote i hsfhirt.*

We also see evidence of physical features suggested by the author:

B2 (p. 429) Enter *ould* Boote *old* Bateman

We see sound and props indicated by Sampson:

B4 (p. 431) Grey, Arguile, Crolfe, Souldiours, *drume*, *Colors*.

C1 (p. 432) *A Trumpet*, Enter Trumball

C4 (p. 435) ... *and the Frenchmen in Womens apparel with Piftols*.

D1v(p. 437) *Alarums* . . .

D2v(p. 438) *Mufique*

G3V(p. 451) *A bed covered with white* . . .

However, it is not easy to draw categorical distinctions. Paul Werstine, in his paper on ‘Foul Papers’ and ‘Prompt-Books’ with relevance to Shakespeare’s *Comedy of Errors*, expresses the opinion that it is difficult to identify the origin of a text. He writes:

There are, of course, still other categories of printer’s copy for English Renaissance plays, most notably intermediate scribal transcripts of ‘foul papers’ that may preserve many features of the original papers. Yet so many of the same features survive in contemporary playbooks that I find it impossible to distinguish . . . an intermediate transcript of ‘foul papers’, and a playbook.⁵

I would suggest that the many clear instructions are evidence that the text indicates Sampson’s specific requirements for a performance of his play. It may, thus, be a fair copy of Sampson’s working draft, prepared either by Sampson himself (which seems most likely) or by a scribe.

⁵ Werstine, Paul. “‘Foul Papers’ and ‘Prompt-Books’: Printer’s Copy for Shakespeare’s “Comedy of Errors””. *Studies in Bibliography*, Vol. 41, 1988. p. 13.

Collation

TITLE PAGE

Clifton In] *This ed.*; Clifton. In *Q, Wallrath*.

Aen: lib: 2.774] *This ed.*; 2.77 *Q, Wallrath*.

Obstipui, steteruntque comae, et vox faucibus haesit] *This ed.*;

Obstupui, steterantque Comae, & vox fausibus haesit *Q, Wallrath*.

CHARACTERS IN THE PLAY] *This ed.*; *No dramatis personae in Q, Wallrath*.

ACT 1 Scene 1] *This ed.*; Actus Primus Scene Prima *Q, Wallrath*.

17. that] *This ed.*; who *Q, Wallrath*.

97. worldlings] *Wallrath*; wordlings *Q*.

124. to] *This ed.*; for *Q, Wallrath*.

152.SD Exeunt Young Bateman, Anne, Ursula] *This ed.*; (no SD *Q, Wallrath*.)

152. no change of scene] *This ed.*; Scene 2 *Wallrath*.

154.SD *Enter* CLIFTON and Shoemaker] *This ed.*; 152.SD *Q Wallrath.*

185.SD *Enter* BALL and JOSHUA] *This ed.*; 181.SD *Q, Wallrath.*

201.SD *Enter* URSULA, YOUNG BATEMAN, ANNE] *This ed.*; *Enter omnes nisi Bateman, Anne Q, Wallrath.*

209.SD *Exit* MILES] *Wallrath*; *Exeunt Q*

334. *Exeunt* YOUNG BATEMAN, ANNE] *This ed.*; *Enter Severally Q*; *Exeunt severally Wallrath.*

1.2] *This ed.*; *No scene division Q*; *Scene 3 Wallrath.*

00.SD. *Enter severally* GREY, ARGYLL, ROUGE CROIX, *soldiers, drum, Colours*] *This ed.*; *Grey, Arguile, Crosse, Soldiours, drume, colors Q, Wallrath.*

15. Campbell] *This ed.*; *Douglasse Q, Wallrath.*

20. at] *This ed.*; *of Q, Wallrath.*

70.SD *Exit* TRUMBALL and ROUGE CROIX] *This ed.*; 69.SD *Enter* Trumball *Q*; SD.69 *Exit* Trumball and Croix *Wallrath.*

85. they] *Wallrath*; the *Q*

98.SD *Re-enter ROUGE CROIX*] *This ed.*; 99.SD *Q, Wallrath.*

114. they] *Wallrath*; the *Q*

120. Judas Maccabaeus] *This ed.*; Judas, Machabeus *Q, Wallrath.*

126.SD *Re-enter ROUGE CROIX*] *This ed.*; Enter Crosse *Q* Re-enter Crosse *Wallrath.*

1.3] *this ed.*; no scene division *Q*; no new scene *Wallrath.*

20. Come] *Wallrath*; Can *Q*.

22.let us] *This ed.*; let's *Q, Wallrath.*

1.4] *this ed.*; no scene division *Q*; scene 4 *Wallrath.*

47. has not] *Wallrath*; cannot *Q*

ACT 2 Scene 1] *This ed.*; Actus secundus Scena Prima *Q, Wallrath.*

OO.SD *Enter* MARTIGUES, D'OYSEL *and Frenchmen* ...] *This ed.*; ... the Frenchmen .

Q, Wallrath.

12. they] *Wallrath*; the *Q*

31. fitchew] *This ed.*; fitchers *Q*; fitchews, fitchets [both words] *Wallrath.*

59.SD *Exit* CLIFTON] *Wallrath*; Exeunt *Q*

79.SD *Exit* YOUNG BATEMAN] *Wallrath*; no SD *Q*

98. *Martigues*] *This ed.*; M *Q*; Mi *Wallrath.*

99. at] *This ed.*; are *Q, Wallrath.*

104. all] *This ed.*; an *Q, Wallrath.*

118. They are] *This ed.*; TITare *Q, Wallrath.*

2.2] *Wallrath*; no scene division *Q.*

55.SD *Exit* URSULA] *Wallrath*; Exeunt *Q.*

69.SD *Exit* URSULA] *Wallrath*; Exeunt *Q*.

101. me] *This ed.*; I *Q*, *Wallrath*.

108. too] *Wallrath*; two *Q*.

2.3] *Wallrath*; no scene division *Q*.

18. Martigues] *This ed.*; Doysells *Q*, *Wallrath*.

2.4] *Wallrath*; no scene division *Q*.

1. It is] *Wallrath*; It tis *Q*.

14. lowest] *This ed.*; ?s/fowrst *Q*; sowr *Wallrath*.

73. Enter **BOOTE**, ANNE, URSULA] *This ed.*; Boote, Anne, Ursula above *Q*, *Wallrath*.

142. thy] *This ed.*, *Q*; the *Wallrath*.

142.SD *Exit* OLD BATEMAN. Enter URSULA] *This ed.*; Enter *Q*; Exit *Wallrath*.

ACT 3 Scene 1] *This ed.*; *ACTUS TERTIUS SCENA PRIMA. Q, Wallrath.*

OO.SD *Enter ANNE hastily, URSULA pursuing, [both] with lights.] This ed.*; *Enter, Anne hastily, pursuing Ursula, with lights Q, Wallrath.*

46. yet] *Wallrath.;* ye *Q.*

104. hear] *Q;* here *Wallrath.*

135. fit] *This ed.*; first *Q, Wallrath.*

3.2] *Wallrath;* no scene division *Q.*

61. didst] *This ed.*; did not *Q, Wallrath.*

62. Cratchet cool] *This ed.*; Cratchet Coole *Q;* Cratche to coole *Wallrath.*

84. no change of scene] *This ed.*; no scene division *Q;* Scene 3 *Wallrath.*

96.SD *Enter MONLUC with appropriate salutations] This ed.*; *Enter Monluck attendant saluts Q; Enter Monlucke; attendant saluts Wallrath.*

3.3] *This ed.*; no scene division *Q*; Scene 4 *Wallrath*.

7. your] *Wallrath*; y'ore *Q*

11. thy] *Q*; the *Wallrath*.

22. me] *This ed.*; thee *Q*; mee *Wallrath*.

)

35. 'Tis] *This ed.*; 'tis *Q*; Tis as *Wallrath*.

47. I see no thing anywhere] *This ed.*; I nothing any where *Q*; I see nothing any where
Wallrath.

65. thy] *Q*; the *Wallrath*.

83. SD ANNE *takes the picture*] *This ed.*; SD 78 *Q*, *Wallrath*.

128. SD *Enter Ghost*] *This ed.*; SD 129.5 *Exit Ghost* *Q*; SD 128 *Enter Ghost and Exit*
Wallrath.

137. SD *Exeunt omnes*] *This ed.*; 135. SD *Q*, *Wallrath*.

ACT 4 Scene 1] *This ed.*; Actus Quartus, Scene Prima *Q, Wallrath.*

4.2] *This ed.*; no scene division *Q*; no scene change *Wallrath.*

13.SD *Enter ARGYLL*] *This ed.*; no SD *Q*; SD.14 *Enter Arguile Wallrath.*

66. command] *Wallrath*; commend *Q*

68; 71. Grey] *This ed.*; Ger *Q*; Gr *Wallrath.*

4.3] *This ed.*; no scene division *Q*; Scene 2 *Wallrath.*

9. infant] *Q*; infants *Wallrath.*

89. groaning-cheese] *This ed.*; groaning cheese *Q*; groaning-chair *Wallrath.*

117.fades] *This ed.*; fad's *Q, Wallrath.*

154. soak] *This ed.*; soke *Q, Wallrath.*

159. peeps] *This ed.*; peipes *Q, Wallrath.*

187. Somnus' dorm] *This ed.*; Somisdore *Q, Wallrath.*

220.SD *Exit Ghost*] *This ed.*; Enter *Q*; exit *Wallrath*.

225. Hear!] *This ed.*; here *Q*; heare! *Wallrath*.

251.SD *Enter women, bringing ANNE.*] *This ed.*; 242.SD *Q, Wallrath*.

257. intended] *Wallrath*; indented *Q*.

295. Who] *Wallrath*; Whom *Q*.

ACT 5 Scene 1] *This ed.*; Actus Quintus, Scene Prima *Q, Wallrath*.

6. war's] *This ed.*; warre *Q, Wallrath*.

46. were] *This ed.*; was *Q, Wallrath*.

70.SD *Enter JOSHUA, reeling, with jacks*] *This ed.*; SD.87 *Enter Joshua, reeling with jacks* *Q, Wallrath*.

5.2] *This ed.* \ no scene division *Q*; Scene 2 *Wallrath*.

51 and 78.SD (*Within*) '*Why Ursula? Niece Ursula?*' \ *This ed.*; Why Ursula, Niece Ursula (SD. *Within*) *Q*, *Wallrath*.

95. Are] *This ed.*; Is *Q*, *Wallrath*.

5.3] Scene 3 *Wallrath*; no scene division *Q*.

00.SD *Enter QUEEN, lords, attendants; MAYOR, aldermen, attendants*] *This ed.*; Enter mayor Aldermen attendants, Queene, and Lords attendants *Q*. Enter Mayor, Aldermen, attendants, Queene, and Lords attendants *Wallrath*.

13. Boston, Kingston on Hull, and Humber] *This ed.*; Boston, Kingston, Humber, and Hull *Q*, *Wallrath*.

It is not known how many copies of *The Vow Breaker* were produced or how many are extant, but I have traced eighteen, all bearing the date 1636. These may be found in the following libraries:

Bodleian, Oxford [copy text used for this thesis]
Dyce Collection, V & A [text used by Wallrath]
British Library x 2 [162.d.66; 644.f.45]
Eton College [Storer bequest 1799]
Worcester College, Oxford
National Library of Scotland x 2 [Comerford; Chrichton-Stuart]
Sir Walter Scott's Abbotsford Collection

B.C. Bald Collection, Melbourne University [annotated 'prompt' copy]

Chapin Library, Williams College
Library of Congress, Washington DC [Arbury Library bookplate]
Folger x 2 [Wing Collection]
Harvard University [Hollis Catalogue: 'reproduction of original in Bodleian']
Henry E. Huntington, Indiana [Bridgewater Library bookplate]
Yale University [Beinecke Library]
Princeton University N.J. [Robt. H. Taylor Collection]

I do not know whether there was a title-page for the manuscript, but there are no variants seen in the copies observed.

I have studied ten texts of *The Vow Breaker* for textual differences, using the copy text of the Bodleian as the standard against which the others have been compared and have made a detailed examination of the variations that may be found on just a few pages:

B4, H1v, H2, H4, Iv, 14. These are recorded on the accompanying spreadsheet.

The British Library 644.f.45, the Melbourne ‘prompt’ and Worcester College copies all have two variations from the Bodleian, but not the same two.

Hlv [BL] T'was [Bod. 'Twas]

H2 [BL] The'ir [Bod. Their]

| | | | | | |
|------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------|---------|-----------------|
| H 1v [Mel] | T'was | [Bod. 'Twas] | Iv [Mel] | Pyramus | [Bod.: Piramus] |
| B4 [Wore] | handkercher | [Bod. hand-kercher] | H 1v [Wore] | T'was | [Bod. 'Twas] |

The British Library 162.3.66 and Princeton copies are almost the same with just two variations from each other and six/five from the Bodleian.

| | | | | | |
|------|--------|-------------|---------|-------------|---------------------|
| B4 | [BL] | handkercher | [P'ton] | handkercher | [Bod: hand-kercher] |
| H 1v | [BL/P] | T'was | | | ['Twas] |
| H2 | [BL/P] | The'ir | | | [Their] |
| H4 | [BL] | warre | | | [warre,] |
| Iv | [BL/P] | Pyramus | | | [Piramus] |
| 14 | [BL/P] | doe'st | | | [doo'st] |

The Dyce copy and that of the House of Falkland in the National Library of Scotland are almost exactly alike, there being just one variation between them [H4: ill's; i'lls] although there is a total of eighteen out of the twenty variants observed that are different from the Bodleian text. The textual variants are detailed on the spreadsheet.

There is one printing variant in the headline used throughout the play that is identical in every extant copy: on all the verso pages are the words '*The Vow-breakef*' and on the recto sides '*or thefayre Maid of Clifton*' except for B3 where the printing is '*or the fayer* [sic] *Maid of Clifton*'. The text itself on this page does not show any of the many variations that do appear in several copies of this edition. Catchwords appear on the bottom right of every page - there is one variant and this appears in every extant copy seen: D2 'bee', D2V'be'.

Two copies of the play appear to be exactly the same, the copy held in Scott's Abbotsford collection and that named 'James Comerford' in the National Library of

Scotland: they have one variation from that of the Bodleian text - 'T'was' instead of 'Twas' at H1v.

I have found only these two copies that are exactly the same, and most of the slight contextual differences found in the remaining eight appear randomly on just a few pages, principally H1v, H2 and H4. One minor example is that seen at H4, ['I will make thee sensible of thy ills' 1.288] - ils (Bodleian, B.L. x 2, Melbourne, Abbotsford, Princeton, Worcester, Scotland x 1); ills (Dyce), i'lls (Scotland x 1). Although most of the copies are similar to that of the Bodleian, the Falkland text in the National Library of Scotland is closer to that in the Dyce Collection. Most of the texts have only a few slight spelling differences from the copy text, but it is noticeable that the Dyce has eighteen variants. I have studied carefully the Bodleian and Dyce texts for the etymology and early usage, but I am unable to suggest which may have been printed first. For example,

| | | | |
|----|-----------|---------------------|----------------|
| H2 | (line 2) | soke (Bodleian); | soake (Dyce) |
| | (line 30) | Sirrops (Bodleian); | Syrops (Dyce). |

The Oxford English Dictionary would appear to suggest that, when looking at 'soke' in the context of the play, 'now will the fweare by this Wine, till the foke the Pot were it a fathome deepe', 'soke' has an obsolete meaning first used in 1577, to drain, exhaust.¹ The forms of the spelling of this example suggest 'soke' before 'soake'. However, when looking at the second example, 'sirrops', the earliest use of the word (and including 'y') appears in 1398, 'surypes', with 'sirop' in 1495; the first example of the double letter 'r' being used by Shakespeare in *Othello* 'syrrups'.²

¹soak OED III.8.C.

²syrup OED Ia.

Oth. 'Not Poppy, nor Mandragora, Nor all the drowsie Syrrups of the world'. [3.3.331].

One substantial variant is also on H2, line 34, and its meaning must have been unclear for the compositors reading from manuscript. There is no clue as to which edition was printed first. I have taken the Bodleian's '*Somisdore*' to mean 'Somnus' dorm', but it could perhaps mean 'Summer's dorm', or even '[mid]summer dor.⁴ The Dyche's variant of '*Some dorr*' could suggest that the dor, or dorr, with its reputation for lazy buzzing around, may be responsible for the sleepiness.⁵ The meaning behind this variant has proved puzzling.




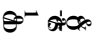











There are many reasons that could explain the press variants in *The Vow Breaker*. It may be that several compositors were working from the manuscript, perhaps misremembering (or 'correcting') the spelling of the handwriting or the letter selected, or miscopying from an earlier print. Mistakes may also have crept in through carelessness on the part of the compositor or print-reader. In addition and perhaps to explain the eighteen mistakes on only a few pages of the Bodleian and Dyce, there is the possibility that the print layout was dropped and errors made in its re-assembly.

³ '(Ur)fula.) Their all afleepe I have a heavy flough, / Come o're my *Q\Q-I\ds;Somifdore* [printed in italics, perhaps suggesting the name of the god Somnus] hath ftrucke me, / I cannot wake, and muft give way to reft'.

⁴ Midsummer dor - East Anglian name for cockchafer (Norfolk Wildlife Trust). It is not impossible that Sampson was familiar with Norfolk as Henry Willoughby had property there.

⁵ dor/dorr OED Id.

Press-variants found in ten texts of *The Vow Breaker*

| | Bodleian (PG) hand- kercher | Dyce (Wallrath) hand- kercher | Br Library 162.d.66 handkercher | Br Libr* 644.f.4f hand- kercher | Melbourne 'prompt' hand- kercher | Abbotsfc Scott's  | Princeton (Robt Taylor) hand kercher | Worcester Oxford hand kercher | z s # i u hand- kercher | NL Scotland James Corn'd  |
|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|--|---|---|---|--|
| B4 | | | | | |  | | | | |
| X ^v | sad's | sades | sad's | sad's | sad's | sad's | sad's | sad's | sad | sad's |
| X ^v | 'Twas | 'Twas | T'was | T'was | T'was | T'was | T'was | T'was | 'Twas | T'was |
| X ^v | saplesse | sap'lesse | saplesse | saplesse | saplesse | saplesse | saplesse | saplesse | sap-lesse | saplesse |
| X ^v | Daisies | Daysies | Daisies | Daisies | Daisies | Daisies | Daisies | Daisies | Daysies | Daisies |
| X ^v | dround | drownd | dround | dround | dround | dround | dround | dround | drownd | dround |
| X ^v | youle | you'l | youle | youle | youle | youle | youle | youle | you'l | youle |
| I H2 | soke | soake | soke | soke | soke | soke | soke | soke | soake | soke |
| 3 | peipes | Peepes | peipes | peipes | peipes | peipes | peipes | peipes | peepes |  |
| H2 | Somisdore | Some dorr | Somisdore |  | Somisdore |  | Somisdore | Somisdore | Some dorr | Somisdore |
| H2 | Their | The'ir | The'ir | The'ir | Their | Their | The'ir | Their | The'ir | Their |
| I H2 | Sirrops | Syrops | Sirrops | Sirrops | Sirrops | Sirrops | Sirrops | Sirrops | Syrops |  |
| H4 | bazes | basis | bazes | bazes | bazes | bazes | bazes | bazes | basis | bazes |
| I H4 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | i'lls |  |
| H4 | parac'd | paracide | parac'd | parac'd | parac'd | parac'd | parac'd | parac'd | paracide | parac'd |
| I H4 | soleme | solemne | soleme | soleme | soleme | soleme | soleme | soleme | solemne | Soleme |
| H4 | warre, | warres | warre | warre | warre, | warre, | warre, | warre, | warres | warre, |
| I H4 | followe | follow | sollowe | followe | followe | followe | followe | followe | follow | Followe |
| ^v | Piramus | Pyramus | Pyramus | Piramus | Pyramus | Piramus | Pyramus | Piramus | Pyramus | Piramus |
| 2 | doo'st | doe'st | doe'st | doo'st | [missing] | doo'st | doe'st | doo'st | doe'st | doo'st |

Editorial Procedures

The Vow Breaker has been edited in accordance with general guidelines and conventions for editors.¹ In order to simplify the production of this modern edition of *The Vow Breaker*, full explanatory notes, unusual vocabulary and the ‘band of terror’ do not appear on each page of text but are fully referenced and included in a Commentary. Line numbers are counted in fives, even when the text is wholly or partly in prose, and a second (and subsequent) speaker’s portion of a line is indented to indicate that a single line is being shared.

Although scene divisions are unmarked in the 1636 edition, I have indicated these in this edition. Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino point out that a ‘scene’ in early modern theatrical practice was not considered a unit of fictional space defined by a location, but a unit of action defined by the movement of actors. Actors would have been able to identify the development of action and would naturally identify the changes within the play and so, in this edition, scene changes are shown when all actors have left the stage and they usually coincide with a complete change of mood or environment. Sounds offstage (music, drums, alarms) are generally indicated in the 1636 edition and stage directions are usually clearly marked. For example:

- After a ‘skirmish’ against the English:

‘Alarums, the French beate of, place themselves on the Walls hanging out a head, Enter Clifton, Souldiers’. (Dv)
- the instructions surrounding Young Bateman’s suicide:

¹ *The Revels Plays-Notes for the Use of Editors*, 2008. Manchester University Press;
also: Leech, Clifford. ‘On Editing One’s First Play’, *Studies in Bibliography*, vol. 23 (1970).
61-70.

² Taylor, Gary and John Lavagnino, (gen. eds.), *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007. p. 21.

‘Young Bateman ins fhirt, a halter about his necke’ (Ev)
‘Falls, hangs, Enter old Bateman i’ns fhirt, & Torch’ (E2V)

- Just after the birth of Anne’s baby:

‘A bed covered with white. Enter Prattle, Magpy, Long-tongue, Barren
with a Child, Anne in bed.’ (G3V)

I have retained all exits and entrances almost exactly as those printed in the 1636 edition, amendments being made in the modern edition only where I feel that they clarify interpretation. These additions, with asides, have been inserted in the text within square brackets. No attempt has been made to insert full stage directions in the play although where stage directions have been given in the original text, I have sometimes re-positioned these to ensure clarity, and these changes have also been placed within square brackets. All headings for all acts and scenes are printed in arabic numerals. The wording of the original stage directions has been retained except where emendation is essential. Where stage directions have been written in Latin these have been retained, amended where necessary, and a translation given in the Commentary. All entries have been centralised and exits set to the right and printed in italics, names being written in roman type, small capitals (for minor characters) or large (for important players). Asides are written in square brackets.

In this edition the black-letter font has been converted into modern roman font. I have normalised the archaic and irregular spelling in order to bring the text, wherever possible, into line with current correct English usage, but the vocabulary is retained where appropriate. Clifton’s cursing has been standardised to ‘halidom’. The lineation has been regularised, capitalisation and the use of italics have generally been modernised, and punctuation silently normalised where necessary to reinforce the

original meaning of the text to be in accordance with modern practice. Cramped or large spaces between words are not imitated but are typed normally. The prose passages remain as written and the poetry amended only occasionally in order to sustain the metrical pattern.

For ease of reading I have modernised spellings and contractions, although there are particular instances where genuine forms of early spellings are retained: e.g. ‘a’ (=he), ‘an’ (=if). Where forms of the verb end in ‘ed’, ‘-ed’, this is used for non-syllabic terminations, ‘-ed’ is reserved for clearly syllabic endings; ‘ied’, ‘Med’, when monosyllabic and ‘-ied’ when disyllabic. The ‘-est’ termination retains this ending when syllabic and ‘st’ or ‘st’ when non-syllabic, depending on modern usage. There is always an apostrophe when ‘e’ is part of the verb stem, e.g. ‘dar’st’. When elisions involve two words pronounced as one, the modernised form has the same number of syllables as the copy-text with no space between the words, e.g. ‘y’are’. In the case of superlatives, there is no elision in the ‘-est’ termination. The long f is always transcribed as the modern short s. Letters Ii/Jj and u/v/VVw have been modernised and the o [o tilde] has been expanded, as appropriate, to ‘on’ ‘Then’ is transcribed where relevant as ‘than’.

The Scottish dialect has been left unaltered to strengthen its intended effect and, although it has not been possible to make a positive translation, I have suggested meaning in the Commentary. The proper names of places and people have been modernised, thus Edinburgh becomes Edinburgh, Gram becomes Graham. Although Sampson spells the name of the elderly suitor ‘Germane’ or ‘Jervis’, I have standardised this to ‘Jermane’ which is a common spelling in the folk legend as well as clearly

differentiating him in the play from Gervase Clifton. The spelling of Anne Boote's name has been standardised, and 'Croix' is referred to throughout as 'Rouge Croix'.

Speech prefixes are shown in full and where these are unclear in the original text, I have placed the name within square brackets and given an explanation in the Commentary.

There is no list of characters in the original text and I have compiled this and placed it before the text, using brief information obtained from the play and expanded in the Commentary. The characters are ordered in two broad groups: those connected with the Maid of Clifton, and the soldiers involved in the Siege of Leith.

I have recorded in the Collation all editorial departures from the copy-text as far as substantive readings are concerned, and this applies to stage directions as well as text. It would appear that the manuscript may have been misread during the preparation of the title page and so, in order to correct the *Aeneid* quotation and reference, I have emended and recorded these in the Collation and given an explanation in the Commentary. I have explained customs in the Commentary that may not generally be understood, have commented on vocabulary, and illustrated references or usage with parallel passages from Elizabethan literature where appropriate.

A Glossary to the Commentary indexes names and topics referred to, with act-scene-line references. A list of general abbreviations precedes the Introduction: the abbreviated titles of works by Shakespeare are those generally recognised.

All reference material (including dictionaries, journals, papers, books) that has been consulted is fully cited and detailed in the Bibliography.

THE
VOW
BREAKER.

OR,
THE FAIR MAID
of Clifton

*In Nottinghamshire as it hath been diverse times acted by
several Companies with great applause.*

By WILLIAM SAMPSON.

Virgil: Aen: lib\ 2.11A.

Obstipui, steteruntque comae, et vox faucibus haesit.

LONDON.

Printed by JOHN NORTON and are to be sold by
ROGER BALL at the sign of the *Golden*
Anchor in the Strand, near Temple-
Bar, 1636.

The illustration.

This faithless woman, by her friends' consent
 Plighted her troth to Bateman, straight not content
 With his revenue. Coveting for more
 She marries Jermane for his wealthy store.
 Their parents jarred, and never could agree 5
 Till both of them were drowned in misery.
 Young Bateman hangs himself, for love of her:
 She drowns herself (guilt plays the murderer);
 His ghost affrights her, sad thoughts do her annoy;
 Alive or dead, 'tis she he must enjoy. 10
 The moral is, maids should beware in choice
 And where they cannot love, divert their voice.
 Parents must not be rash nor too unkind
 And not for wealth to thwart their children's mind.
 All is not gained that's got; ill-purchased wealth 15
 Never brought comfort, tranquil peace and health.
 This precedent, this principle doth allow:
 Weddings are made in heaven though sealed below.

[Picture:

Think on thy promise! Alive or dead I must and will enjoy thee.

He's come! Watch me or I am gone.

O how happy had I been if she had lived.

O how happy had I been if he had lived.]

Dedication.

TO THE WORSHIPFUL and most virtuous gentlewoman
Mistress Anne Willoughby, daughter of the Right Worshipful
and ever to be honoured, Henry Willoughby, of Risley in the
County of Derby, Baronet.

Worthiest and Noble Mistress,

This infant received breath and being under your noble father's
roof (my ever honoured master) and therefore, as an air-lover
belonging to that hospitable fabric, it properly prostrates itself
to you for a patroness. The title of it, saith ignorant censurers (those
critical Momes that have no language but satiric calumny), sounds
gross and ignorant, expressing small wit and less judgement in the author
to dedicate *A Vow Breaker* under the protection of a lady of your candour,
beauty, goodness and virtues, against those foul-mouthed detractors
who, as much as in their venomous hearts lay, sought to vilify an
unblanched lawn, a vestal purity, a truth-like innocence, a temple
of sanctity, the altar of real goodness. Against those brainless Momes
I comply myself with Pliny's natural simile of the almond tree: pick
off the rind, crack the shell, yet set the kernel upright in earth and, by
nature's help, it regains maturity and growth. So have your noble
virtues, even with the diamond, eclipsed darkness and, from obscurity,
gained greater lustre even than when the two eldest sons of sin, Envy
and Malice, sought to obscure them. But she that hath not left the

earth, divine Astraea, sacred justice, the eye and soul of the law, hath
 vindicated those foul-mouthed detractors. As you are great in goodness,
 so shine there still and let the sunrays of your virtues ever yield honoured
 hatchments and portments to your most noble father and his honoured 25
 families, of whom you are a principal column. Continue ever in that
 noble pedigree of virtues which your virgin purity hitherto hath justly
 maintained. Heaven keep you from fawning parasites and busy gossips
 and send you a husband, and a good one, else may you never make a
 holiday for Hymen. As much happiness as tongue can speak, pen write, 30
 heart think, or thoughts imagine, ever attend on you, your noble father
 and all his families, to whom I ever rest, as my bounden duty,
 A faithful servant,

WILLIAM SAMPSON.

The Prologue to Censurers.

Truth, says the author, this time will be bold
 To tell a story, truer ne'er was told.
 Wherein he boldly vouches all is true
 That this time's spoke by us, or heard by you.
 If chronicle that ever yet gained favour 5
 May please true judgements, his true endeavour
 From serious hours has gained it: for us,

He hopes our labours will be prosperous.

And yet, methinks I hear some critic say

That they are much abused in this our play, 10

Their magistracy laughed at as if now

What ninety years since died, afresh did grow.

To those we answer, that ere they were bom

The story that we glance at then was worn

And held authentic, and the men we name 15

Grounded in honour's prowess, virtue's fame.

Bring not the author then in your mislikes

If, on the age's vice, quaintly he strikes

And hits your guilt. Most plainly it appears

He, like a tailor that hath lost his shears 20

Amongst his shreds, he knocks upon the board

And, by the sound, themselves they do afford.

If, in his scenes, he any vice have hit,

To you far better known than to his wit,

Take't to yourselves alone; for him, his pen 25

Strikes at the vices, and not minds the men.

[Characters in the Play

YOUNG BATEMAN
OLD BATEMAN
GHOST of Young Bateman

ANNE Boote
BOOTE (her father)

URSULA (Boote's niece)

JERMANE (Anne's elderly wealthy suitor)

MILES (miller of Ruddington)

PRATTLE (Women attending Anne's confinement)
BARREN
MAGPIE
LONGTONGUE

QUEEN Elizabeth

Lord GREY of Wilton (Commander of English army)
Sir Gervase CLIFTON
Marmaduke JOSHUA (portraitist and paintstainer)
BALL
MAYOR of Nottingham (tanner)

Shoemaker
Soldier
English Lord

ROUGE CROIX (Herald at Arms)

ARGYLL Archibald Campbell, 5th Earl

Count of MARTIGUES
General D'OYSEL
TRUMBALL (Sergeant trumpeter to Regent Queen Mary)
MONLUC, Bishop of Valence
French Lord

Soldiers, prisoners, Frenchmen, Aldermen, Attendants]

ACT 1

Act 1 Scene 1

Enter YOUNG BATEMAN, meeting ANNE.

Anne. My Bateman!

Young Bateman. My sweetest Nan!

Anne. Had I but one entire affected pearl
Inestimable unto vulgar censure,
And is there none to play the thief but thou?
Oh, misery! Wouldst have thy love entranced 5
Without an echo that would sigh farewell?
Common courtesy 'mongst rural hinds
With this formality disciplines them kiss
At the departure, and you to steal away
Without my privity!

Young Bateman. Pray thee, no more! 10

Tears are the heralds to future sorrows:
I have collected all that's man together
And wrestled with affections as with streams

And as they strive that do oppress the billows,
 So do I fare in each external part. 15
 My acts are like the motional gimmals
 Fixed in a watch that wind themselves away
 Without cessation. Here, if I stay, I find
 I must be where thou art, which when I am
 Thy father's rage increases like a flame 20
 Fed by ungentle blasts. My absence
 May work those bitter-sweetings from his heart
 And smooth the rising furrows in his brow.
 It is sufficient that I know thee firm,
 Fixed as a rock in constancy and love, 25
 Able to shipwreck greatness, and despise
 A violated heart as a disease.
 I go to Leith as children go to school,
 Studying what shall please my mistress best;
 My lesson conned, I will return again 30
 And dedicate my labours unto thee.

Anne.

Sweet, do not go! And yet, if that you will,
 Leaving me here like a forsaken lover,
 Prithee, forget me not. Nay, be not angry:
 Soldiers in war make any saint their own, 35
 Forgetting those they are devoted to.
 'Tis I have vowed to have thee quick or dead.

Flattering honours nor dissembling beauties
Works me not from thee.

Young Bateman.

Swear not, sweet Nan!

The Book of Fate, as now, may be unclasped 40
And record what thou speakst.

Anne.

Be it writ in brass

My love shall be as durable as that.

Now, by this kiss! *[Kiss]* Nay, I will second that! *[Kiss]*

When I this hand bequeath to any one

But my sweet Bateman, then, may I ever 45

From heaven and goodness rest a castaway

If e'er I give this hand to any one

But my sweet Bateman.

Young Bateman.

Thy constancy I re-salute.

Death only separates me from thy love:

Alive or dead I shall enjoy thee then, 50

Spite of thy father's frowns.

Enter URSULA.

Ursula.

Why then, up with your bag and baggage, and
to Saint Mary's presently. The priest stays,

the clerk whines to say Amen and, for th'
 official scholars love buttered loaves, an 55
 angel will persuade him to consent. We
 that live by the sins of the people may
 dispense with venial toys.

Young Bateman. Thou art merry still!

Ursula. Faith, and shall be as long as I keep me out 60
 of Cupid's manacles. Dost hear, lover?
 Take her now thou hast her i'th' vein. Trust
 not we wenches! There's as much truth in
 us as in knights o'th' post. If she swear love
 today, she'll unswear it tomorrow with a safe 65
 conscience. Stand not 'Shall I? Shall I?' Take
 me her to have and to hold, and if either of
 you repent your bargain within a twelve-month -

Anne. What then?

Ursula. Then you shall fetch no bacon at Dunmow! 70
 We young wenches in our loves are like
 lapwings; if once we creep out o'th' shells
 we run from our old loves like scopperils.
 Women's minds are planetary and amble as

fast as virginals' jacks: if you stop 'em not 75
 in true time, you mar all your music. See,
 here are your fathers!

Enter **BOOTE, OLD BATEMAN.**

Young Bateman. Alas! What wilt thou do?

Anne. Not shrink a jot for thee.

Boote. I charge thee, on my blessing, leave that boy! 80

Anne. Father! Sir!

Boote. Come, come, come!

Must your appetite be married to beggary?

Is this the only phoenix of the world?

Old Bateman. Boote, Boote, Boote! Thou art malapert, false, proud,
 A wretched miscreant and dissembler! 85
 He shall enjoy her, she's his lawful wife.
 Thy hand enstated hers, though falsely now
 Thou play'st the counterfeit.

Ursula. [Aside] Well said, old cock! Would thy spurs

were new-rowelled, that thou mightst
pick out his eyes!

Boote. Still are your eyes gadding that way? Know this:
I'll sooner marry thee unto some slave
Whom mine own will can subordinate
Rather than to him!

Young Bateman. Is virtue grown to so absurd a rate
It gains no better credit with base worldlings?

Old Bateman. Tell me, Boote,
Does not his birth and breeding equal hers?
Are not my revenues correspondent
To equal thine? His purity of blood
Runs in as sweet a stream and natural heat
As thine, or hers. His exterior parts
May parallel hers or any other's
In a true harmony of lawful love.
Was't not thine own motion, didst not give way
And intercourse to their privacies?
Did'st not thou make me draw conveyances?
Did not th'assurance of thy lands seem probal?
Boote! Boote! Thou shall not carry it thus!
I'll make thee know there's justice to be had

If thou deniest it.

Boote.

Say I grant all this?

With myself having deliberated,

I do not like th'assurance of thy lands;

Thy titles are so bangled with thy debts 115

Which thou wouldst have my daughter's portion pay.

Sir! Sir! It shall not!

Old Bateman.

Hang thee! Hang thee, miser!

'Tis thy base thoughts forge these false conceits

And, but for thy daughter, I'd, I'd, I'd ...

Boote.

I'd ... ? Come! Come!

Anne.

Father!

120

Young Bateman.

Dear Sir, spare your fury!

Anger in old men is a lunacy

That wounds the speakers, not the spectators.

My thoughts are now embarked to go to Leith

And see the wars. I hope ere my return 125

I shall find temperate weather in your looks

And all these storms vanished.

Old Bateman.

Art thou so built on her fidelity?

Take heed, boy! Women by kind are fickle.

Absence in lovers brings strange events: 130

Lovers that hourly kiss find due regard

But those that absent are, oft lose reward.

I doubt not of her firmness, but 'tis common

An absent lover thrives not with a woman.

'Tis good counsel, boy, and worth observance. 135

But thou dar'st trust her?

Young Bateman.

With my life, Sir!

Old Bateman.

Go on then in thy intended purpose.

Noble Sir Gervase, whose man thou art,

I know will furnish thee.

Boote. [Aside]

This works to my design, and gives free way 140

For wealthy Jermane to my daughter's love.

Come hither, Nan!

Ursula. [Aside]

I thought the wind was in that door. By my

virginity, a young wench were better be

heir to a swineherd's chine than a rich 145

man's bags. We must be coupled in wedlock

like your Barbary horse and Spanish jennet

for breed sake, house to house, and land to
land - the devil a jot of love! Poor simple
virginity that used to be our best dowry is 150
now grown as bare as a servingman's cloak
that has not had a good nap this seven years.

[Exeunt YOUNG BATEMAN, ANNE, URSULA.]

Old Bateman. Well, Boote, time may make us friends.

Boote. We'll think on it, Bateman.

Enter CLIFTON and Shoemaker.

Clifton. How many pair of shoes, knave, ha? 155

Shoemaker. By Saint Hugh, Sir Gervase! Four thousand pair.

Clifton. For every knave, two pair good sauce against kibed
heels, by my halidom! Well shod and clad will
make 'em fight like men. The north is cold, subject
to frosts and snows, and 'tis bad fighting without victual 160
and cloth, for which I have provided well for both. Forty
horse-loads and twenty cars of victual, 'twill stop
a good breach in a soldier's belly. My man shall pay

thee half it. My halidom! My old neighbour rich
 Boote, and Bateman! Is this brabbling matter ended 165
 yet? Shall he have her? By my halidom, not yet!
 The knave shall serve his Queen first, see the wars
 where 'twill do him good to see knocks pass as fillips.
 Say, is't done?

Enter MILES.

Old Bateman. He's at your service. 170

Clifton. By my halidom! He shall not want for that.
 But I am tardy and my time is precious.
 My halidom! Where's this knave?

Miles. Faith, Sir, trading as other knaves do. Sir, yonder's
 the tailor, the weaver, and I, the miller. 175

Clifton. My halidom! Knaves all three! Put me a tailor, a
 weaver and a miller into a bag.

Miles. And what then, Sir?

Clifton. Why, he that first comes out will be a knave.

Miles. Under correction, Sir! Put me a Justice of Peace, 180
an official, an under-sheriff into a bag.

Clifton. And what then, knave?

Miles. Why, and they will not come out. Let 'em tarry
there like knaves, as they are.

Clifton. [Aside] What a knave is this! 185

Enter BALL and JOSHUA.

Miles. Sir! Here's two more appear. Th'one is mad Ball,
old huffish man; th'other may be a knave in grain
for anything I know; I'm sure he's much given to
colours - he's a painter-stainer.

Clifton. Y'are both pressed and willing to serve the Queen? 190

Ball. I am bend-leather, and will endure it.

Joshua. My name is Marmaduke Joshua, a painter-stainer
by art and a limner by profession. I am given to the
means, and do fructify among the brethren. It
was obnoxious and inutile, and contrary to the 195

sages, to press me.

Clifton. We'll see how you can edify our camp.

Joshua. For the sistren commiserate.

Clifton. Come my old neighbours, let our drum beat a free
march. We'll have a health to Queen Bess: cry 'St 200
George, and a fig for St Denis!'

[Exeunt omnes MILES exceptus.]

Enter URSULA, YOUNG BATEMAN, ANNE.

Miles. Mistress Ursula, 'tis not unknown that I have loved
you: if I die it shall be for your sake, and it shall be
valiantly. I leave a handkercher with you: 'tis
wrought with blue Coventry. Let me not, at my return, 205
fall to my old song, 'She had a cloth of mine,
sewn with blue Coventry', and so hang myself at your
infidelity. Desiring Jove to bless you from better
fortunes, I leave you.

Exit MILES.

Ursula. The fool dotes, but 'tis no matter. 'Tis no matter, 210
 'tis lady-like. Why should not I have my monkey
 to play withal?

Young Bateman. Prithee, leave us.

Ursula. Heavens bless me out of your company! For fools I
 found you and so I must leave you, in spite of my heart. 215

Exit [URSULA.]

Young Bateman. Now, Nan, here's none but thou and I. Thy love
 Emboldens me to speak, and cheerfully.
 Here is a piece of gold, 'tis but a little one
 Yet big enough to tie and seal a knot
 A jugal knot on earth, to which high heaven 220
 Now cries Amen. Say thou so, too, and then
 When either of us breaks this sacred bond
 Let us be made strange spectacles to the world,
 To heaven, and earth.

Anne. Amen, say I,
 And let heaven loathe me when I falsify. 225

Young Bateman. Thou now art like a polished ivory table

In pureness, without a stain or blemish.

If thou shouldst soil this whiteness with black deeds

Think what a monster thou wouldst make thy self.

I doubt thee not, but give this cautionary.

230

Hark the drum beats! From the arms of love

I now must burnish in the arms of war. Adieu!

Anne.

When I prove false to thee, oh may I then

Be held the scom of heaven, earth, and men.

[Exeunt YOUNG BATEMAN, ANNE.]

Act 1 Scene 2

Enter severally GREY, ARGYLL, ROUGE CROIX, soldiers, drum, Colours.

[Grey.] As far as my commission, Argyll,
 I have proceeded. We, in the trade of war
 Whose mart consists in blows and batteries,
 Are like small rivers that must keep their bounds
 Till the Queen Ocean command them rise. 5
 Dunbar can witness where we skirmished last.
 I require the hostages be delivered
 'Twixt England and the federary lords.

Argyll Peruse this bead-roll from Duke Chatelherault
 Wherein their names are. Their persons attend 10
 At Inchkeith and, with willingness, are bound
 To attend the mighty Queen of England.

Grey. Lord Claud Hamilton, fourth son of the Duke;
 Robert Douglas, brother to the Lord James
 Stewart; Archibald Campbell, Laird of 15
 Lochynnell; George Graham, second son to the
 Earl of Menteith; James Cunningham, son to the
 Earl of Glencaim. All hostages to the Queen of

England till the Articles be performed betwixt her
 and the federary Lords. Herald at Arms! Conduct 20
 these noble pledges from the red Braes to Inchkeith.
 See 'em delivered to James Croft and George Howard,
 knights, from thence to be embarked for England.

Rouge Croix. I shall, my Lord!

[Exit ROUGE CROIX.]

Grey. What number speak your powers? 25

Argyll. Two thousand hardy Scots,
 With glaived blades, bum-daggers, and white kerchers:
 Such as will fight and face the fiery French.

Grey. Our numbers, then, are eight thousand,
 And still we look for more. Sir Francis Leeke 30
 And gentle Sir Gervase, two spirits
 That in peace are lambs, in war two ravening Lions.

A march

Enter CLIFTON, Soldiers.

Clifton. A soldier's wishes: bless my noble General!

Grey. Thanks, valiant Clifton. They can deserve no less

Coming from thee. I see you emulate 35

That we should take the glory to our selves.

I'll give the first alarm; you'll be one?

Clifton. Ay, by my halidom! At war as at a feast

I'll scramble for my part and, if I catch a knock,

That honour which a soldier wins in wars 40

Is of low price unless he brings home scars.

Grey. What number, Sir Gervase?

Clifton. Five hundred and fifty tall white-coats,

Fellows that will face a murdering cannon

When it blows ranks into the air as chaff. 45

Yet, dreadless they shall stand it and not shrink.

Right Nottinghamshire lads.

Grey. 'Tis well done.

Our bands are well divided. Yours, my Lord,

Keep the green bulwark, mine the west gate;

You, Sir Gervase, the water-ports to Inchkeith; 50

Pelham from Pelham's Mount plays at the town.

How now! What trumpet's this?

A trumpet

Enter TRUMBALL.

Trumball. From the Queen Regent of Scotland I come
To thee, Lord General of the English force.
She craves a treaty with the Lords of England, 55
To know why thus they enter on her grounds,
De-populate her countries, plough her plains.
If lawful cause she finds on interview
She will subscribe to England, sue for peace,
Otherwise by Article she'll confirm't. 60
This is under her highness' hand and seal.
This is my message.

Grey. What's thy name?

Trumball. Trumball, Sergeant Trumpeter to her Grace.

Grey. Her princely offer we accept. Rouge Croix,
Herald at Arms! Command Sir George Howard, 65
Sir James Croft, and my son Arthur Grey,
To show her Grace my Sovereign's grievances.
I'th' interim we'll sheathe our burnished blades
Which had been dyed in scarlet long ere this

But for thy message.

Trumball. I shall report you honourable. 70

[Exit TRUMBALL and ROUGE CROIX.]

Clifton. My halidom! I like not these signs of peace.
These French flies work on advantages:
I'll not trust 'em.

Grey. To prevent which, each stand on his guard. Your
ears, my Lord. 75

Joshua. Resolve me. Do they kill men i'th' wars and ne'er
give warning?

Miles. Not so much time, Jo, as a thief has at Nottingham
gallows!

Joshua. Tyranny! Tyranny! May I not pray in sincerity, nor
request the brethren and sisters to have care of a
departing brother? 80

Miles. No, Jo, nothing but downright blows; just as you
fell oaks or kill oxen!

Joshua. Most heathenish and diabolical. And do they shoot bullets?

Miles. Ay, Jo, as thick as hail: a man may hit his own father!

Joshua. Oh, infidels and barbarians! What will not the wicked do? Kill men with bullets! Oh, these guns, they are dangerous things. They sprung from the whore; a friar was the inventor. And they smell of the dragon! Oh, my poor puss-cat: sinful man thou art, Jo, to bring the poor puss forth to die by a gun. A poor puss, silly harmless puss.

Miles. Tie her behind, then if thou runn'st she may save thee.

Joshua. I run? Thou profane translator! I scorn to run. My cat and I will enter battle 'gainst the wicked.
I run?

[Re-]enter ROUGE CROIX.

Grey. Why return so soon?

Rouge Croix. This, my Lord:

Making for Edinburgh to the Queen 100

Nine hundred shot and five hundred corslets

Came forth of Leith, under the conduct

Of Martigues and D'Oysel, their colonels.

We wished them peaceably return to Leith

Since contrary to all laws of arms 105

They now had issued. Martigues replied

They, on their master's ground, resolved stood,

And from their mistress would not budge a foot

For any English breathing.

Exit ROUGE CROIX.

Grey. Were not our promise given to the Queen 110

On which they build advantages, I'd make

These French rats run as wolves from fire,

Bid'em retire, and tell them thus from us

We'll make them win their ground ere they stand on't.

Nothing but circumvention in the French. 115

Clifton. By my halidom! Jugglers, constant in nothing but
inconstancy. That's the French merchandise.

Joshua. And do they fight as it is in the painted cloth of the
nine worthies of Joshua, Elector, Caesar, Arthur,

Charlemagne, Judas Maccabaeus, Godfrey Bouillon, 120
[David and Alexander]?

Miles. Yes, Jo, they do.

Joshua. In the painted cloth, Joshua stands foremost.

Ball. With his cat instead of a scutcheon!

Joshua. Ball, thou art full of rebukes. 125

[Re-]enter ROUGE CROIX.

Rouge Croix. Arm! Arm! Arm! Regardless of true honour
Your message is defied and, facing, the van
Discharged a thousand shot. The Crag and Chapel
They make a refuge 'gainst our great artillery.

Grey. Let the bowmen shoot their fleetest arrows, 130
As thick as hail. The musketeers shall follow.
Alarm, then! 'Tis our first enterprise:
When cowards fall, the valiant spirits rise.

Exeunt omnes.

Act 1 Scene 3

After skirmishes, enter GREY, ARGYLL, YOUNG BATEMAN with Colours,

CLIFTON, soldiers [JOSHUA, MILES], prisoners.

Grey. The Crag and Chapel's ours, and the French,
Like hares, are leapt out of fierce greyhounds' grips.
D'Oysel and Martigues out-ran their Colours
And with all expedition took the town.

Young Bateman. Whose Colours I display. 5

Grey. How many of the French this day are fall'n?

Argyll. Seven score, my Lord, and prisoners of noble worth:
Poitiers, Augois, Bourbon, Chaumont, Chalons,
La Brosse and, of the English, merely one man slain.

Grey. Thanks unto heaven, whose arm was our defence. 10
What's he that bears the French arms displayed?

Clifton. A servant of mine. His name, Bateman.

Grey. There's forty angels for thy good day's service

And, if thy merit retain, an ancient's place.

Young Bateman. I thank your honour. 15

Joshua. My prisoner is an Anabaptist: all I desire is that I
may convert him.

Miles. It must be in's drink then, else he's none o'
th' right brethren!

Grey. Come noble Argyll and worthy Clifton! 20

After these toils of blood and massacre
Let's quench our ranging 'motions in the grape
And, in the Frenchman's vine, drink his confusion.

Proud France shall know that our Eliza's name
Drives to confusion those that steal her fame! 25

Exeunt omnes.

Act 1 Scene 4

Enter ANNE and URSULA.

Anne. Dost thou not believe it?

Ursula. Let me fail of my best wishes, and I do. I cannot
amuse my thoughts to't. Thou mayst as soon
persuade me that a spider's web will catch a swarm
of bees as thou marry Jermane. His head's like a 5
Welshman's crest on St David's day! He looks like
a hoary frost in December! Now, Venus bless me,
I'd rather lie by a statue.

Anne. Thou art pleasant still!
In nat'ral things we see that herbs and plants 10
In autumn ever do receive perfection;
As they, so man never attains his height
Till in the autumn of his growing age.
Experience, like a mistress, beautifies him
With silver hairs, badges of experience, 15
Of wisdom, honours, counsel, knowledge, arts;
With all th'endowments virtue hath in store.
Contrarily, green-headed youth,

Being in the spring or summer of his age,
 Is prone to surfeits, riots, intemperancies 20
 And all the stock of ills that vice is queen of.

Ursula. Thou wrests a good text to an ill sense, but none
 but fools would lie in beds of snow that might
 couch in roses! But it may be, cousin, but it may
 be, coz, you follow the fashion of our country 25
 knights that marry your old London widows, 'tis
 but keeping a handsome chamber-maid; they
 are necessary evils and will serve with a small
 dowry afterwards to make parsons' wives. You
 know my meaning, coz? 30

Anne. He brings wealth, promotion, and 'tis the way.

Ursula. To your ruin! To your black father, presently!
 Cook him with the herb moly, that will put blood
 in's cheeks. Let him be dieted like your Barbary
 horse, he'll ne'er stand to his tacklings else. Feed 35
 him with viper's flesh that will make his white head
 black. Dost thou refuse youthful Bateman to lie
 with wealthy Jermane, reject a mine of virtue for a
 mountain of muck? Cupid bless thee, for I'll swear
 he has blinded thee as blind as a bat! 40

Anne.

I loved young Bateman in my childish days,
 Have vowed to have him, and he again to me.
 But what of that? Foolish lovers' vows,
 Like breath on steel, as soon are off, as on.
 Jermane is wealthy and by him I gain 45
 Recourse amongst the modest, sagest, dames.
 Wealth has a privilege that beauty has not;
 Bateman is young, embellished with a natural,
 Active, and generous, unspotted beauty;
 Jermane is old, indebted much to age, 50
 Yet, like old Aeson, gold can make him young.
 Gold, like a second nature, can elixate,
 Make the deformed fair, the fair seem foul,
 And we that love not must be tied to th'face.
 A sparkling eye, or a smooth pleading tongue 55
 Will not keep hospitality with time.
 Maids that love young men gain their loves by stealth,
 We that love old men wed not man, but wealth.

Ursula.

If I believe thee not, may I turn nun before my
 probation! To be serious, let me touch thy conscience. 60
 If young Bateman, to whom I know thou'st vowed
 thy faith, should, at thy falsehood, fall into some
 malevolencies in himself or on thee, 'twould grieve

thee to have ballads made on thee, to the tune of
 ‘The Inconstant Lover’, and have thy perjuries pinned 65
 on every post.

Anne. Conscience? Pray no more on’t.

Ursula. No, in truth, for I think thou’st as much pleasure
 in’t as a hanged man has of his pardon, or a dog
 with a glass bottle at’s tail. See, here’s thy father. 70
 With him the man that must be not the foreman
 o’th’ parish but a buck o’th’ first head.

Enter BOOTE, JERMANE.

Anne. My lovely Jermane!

Jermane. My fairest mistress!

Ursula. [Aside] If I had not rather kiss a muff made of cats’ skins
 than these mouldy chops of his, would I might die 75
 an anchoress.

Boote. Now, niece, what’s your conceit of this?

Ursula. Faith, uncle, I’m a woman and they say a woman

is a weathercock. For mine own part, some are, I
 think, and when I think they are not I'll tell you 80
 my conceit. Till then, I'll pay you with thinking.

Jermane. Sweet beauty! Rumour, that betters nothing
 But disproportionates every act,
 Gives it out thus, that you are affianced
 To youthful Bateman. I would not have the curse 85
 Of contract-breaking fall upon my head.
 If it be so, fairly I here acquit you
 From all engagements twixt yourself and me.
 If not, like to a blessing, I embrace you.
 That jointure which your father most desired 90
 I have confirmed. Nothing now remains
 But your reply, or mine, or whose you please.

Anne. Sir, I am yours!
 I loved young Bateman with an inward joy,
 Affected him beyond a common rate 95
 Yet not so far but that I might reduce
 My vows and my affections to my will.
 For when I saw how disproportionable
 Our jarring fathers were, I then began
 To alienate all love. Here I renew 100
 To whom it comes as free, as bright and pure

As are these unstained lamps beyond the moon.

Jermane. Which, as a blessing from the heavens, I take.

Boote. You shall be married instantly and girl, thou shalt
 have one bag more for this. It glads me yet thou art 105
 so free from Bateman. I looked for other demonstrations.
 Come, Jermane! This night we'll feast. Tomorrow
 thou shalt be wed, at night enfold a maiden in thy bed.

Ursula. [Aside] Which, if he does, may she die of the pip and go to the
 grave as a salad for the worms. 110

Exeunt omnes.

ACT 2

Act 2 Scene 1

Enter MARTIGUES, D'OYSEL, and Frenchmen, in women's apparel, with pistols.

| | | |
|-------------------|---|----|
| <i>Martigues.</i> | Omit this, D'Oysel, | |
| | They now are healthing and carousing deep. | |
| | Now is our time to work a stratagem | |
| | . Gaining these trenches that oppress the town. | |
| | Thus, as we are, we pass without suspect: | 5 |
| | Nine bona-robas, nine stout viragoes, | |
| | Nine manly lasses which will stand the squeak. | |
| | Jove went a-wenching as we go to th'wars. | |
| | If this exploit take root, we build a strength | |
| | That nine months' siege cannot again redeem. | 10 |
| | | |
| <i>D'Oysel.</i> | The Scotch language I am perfect in. | |
| | Encaul yourselves, they enter on their guard. | |
| | Le Roy's the word; 'til then, let no man stir. | |
| | The second i.e. Roy' bids every man to kill. | |
| | Close and observe. | 15 |

***Enter* CLIFTON, [YOUNG] BATEMAN, JOSHUA, BALL, MILES, soldiers.**

Clifton. Each man betake him to his instruments!
 Keep safe this port, for 'tis the sole defence
 To our new trenches and raised bulwarks
 If any issue from the town give fire,
 And the alarm shall be answered quick. 20
 The French are subtle, and in various shapes
 Combine themselves; therefore, to gain the best,
 Prevent the worse.

Joshua. An they be women,
 May we not seize on 'em for lawful prize?

Clifton. To women and children, be merciful, 25
 But trust none: the politic fox sometimes
 Wraps himself within the lion's skin
 So working prey upon the innocent lamb.
 These French are subtle foxes.

Miles. I thought so, for a man may smell their footings 30
 As far as a fitchew's.

Joshua. An' they be foxes we may smell 'em out. For
 as it is in the painted cloth, by fortune came a fox

where grew a pleasant vine: 'I will no grapes',
said the fox, 'The fruit is none of mine'.

Young Bateman. Sir, have you despatched me?

Clifton. My halidom! That's true.
What sudden business of so main import
Calls thee from the wars, where thou see'st
Resolved spirits rate their lives at nought
Regardless of all miseries, for honours?
Thou, a proficient in war's academe,
Hast profited well; the first day an ancient
In single duel taken. I tell thee, Bateman,
It has won a great impression in my lord.
Resolve thee so. I would not have thee go
To fish for shadows and let go the substance.
Thou know'st my meaning, Bateman?

Young Bateman. I conster it
That your suspicion deems it to be love.
In sooth, it needs not. Such a constant rock
My love is built on that it cannot fall.
I cannot fasten jealousy in my thoughts
Knowing her loyalty. Great excuses
For my intended journey know I none,

And to frame any, were but negatives.

Yet, in my sleeps, I have strange visions 55

Which, waking, I cannot thrust from memory.

I do beseech your licence let me go.

Clifton.

My letters want but sealing, follow me

To the General's tent.

[Exit CLIFTON.]

Miles.

Fellow Bateman! Farewell! Commend me to my old 60

windmill at Ruddington. Oh, the multure dish, the

millers' thumb, and the maid behind the hopper!

Tell Mistress Ursula I fight for her sake and will live as

long as I can, die when I can no longer live; yet will

love her in spite of her heart. Instead of nutmegs and 65

ginger I send her three bawbees I got at Dundee. I

will fly on her at my return with the verses out of

new *Hero and Leander*. Oh, Ursula! Ursula! Pity

me with a 'dildo, dildo, dillory'!

Ball.

Commend me to the bells of St Mary's and 70

Tell 'em my chops water to chime all in!

Joshua.

As it is in the painted cloth; in morning still, when

thou dost rise, see that in mind thou have to spend
the day that doth ensue as bed might be thy grave.
Commend me to my learned brother Spritchall, the 75
cobbler of Nottingham bridge, and bid him look up
and give me a coal. Wishing him good health, as my
cat and I was at the making hereof.

Young Bateman. I will be mindful of you all. Farewell!

[Exit YOUNG BATEMAN.]

Martiques. [Aside to D Oysel] Now is the time: make your appearance. 80

Miles. Shoot! Shoot!

D Oysel. An' the bred an gad man, spare the bonny lasses!

Ball. Down with the bonny belles!

Joshua. Have some compunction! They're the weaker vessels
for, as it is in the painted cloth, be meek and gentle 85
and thyself shall find a quiet conscience and a
tranquil mind.

Miles. By th' mass! A pretty boot hauling! Handsome pages,

each one. Take one and examine the pricklers!

Joshua. Thy counsels smell of piety and thus I begin the 90
conversion of a sinner - Um! - She kisses well!
Verily, again I will edify on your lips. - Are you
of the Family of Love, sister? Ha!

Martigues. An the beanes of me, I's a pure lurdan!

Miles. And what are you, pretty morsel? 95

D 'Oysel. An the dele an the crag, I's a laird's wife,
ganging to seeke my lurdan.

M[artigues]. [To D 'Oysel] And you are ganging to your lurdan, that your lurdan
may catch you by the crag, and claw you at the
wame, till your guts garr haggergath, haggergath? 100

Joshua. [To Martigues] Will you be contented to leave the wicked and live
among the Familists, exercising your body in the
brotherhood's cause?

Martigues. An' the laird nare thee, with all my bare bones!

Joshua. Kiss again then! - In sincerity she kisses open- 105

mouthed like a zealous sister.

Ball. [To another disguised French soldier] And you can wash and scour, and help to
launder the camp, and dress the booties we steal. And at
night, be content to kennel with me in straw!

Soldier. [Aside] I? By Saint Andrew! 110

Joshua. Let us congregate ourselves, and ponder on
their miseries!

D'Oysel. [Aside to Martigues] Now is the time! Each man draw and fight!

*[Fighting takes place between disguised
Frenchmen and English soldiers.]*

*Alarms [in distance]; the French beat off [English and]
place themselves on the walls, hanging out a head.*

Enter CLIFTON, soldiers.

Clifton. Well fought, my hearts, though we have lost one man
Whose head they basely perch upon the walls. 115
Base-minded D'Oysel, cowardly Martigues!
Though all advantages in war are lawful

They are not commendable. You came like yourselves,
 Frenchified trulls, to scold us from our trenches
 But not to beat us. Come, either of you, single, 120
 And fight with Clifton! If not one, come both,
 And, by my country's honour, no man here
 Shall dare to touch you but this arm of mine!

D Oysel. Vex not thyself, old man! 'Tis but one head.
 We came for more but rest sufficed with this. 125

Clifton. And for that one, a thousand dastard French
 Shall dearly pay. Count, I shall meet thee?

Martigues. Clifton, thou mayst.

Clifton. By my halidom! Our meeting will seem rough,
 our parting fair. Make this thy quarrel: I pronounce 130
 thy Queen defective in beauty, virtues, honours,
 unto my mistress, England's royal Bess!

Martigues. Traitor! Thou liest!

Clifton. Have I stirred thy blood?

Martigues. With such an overture, but thy barbarous head,

nothing can calm it.

135

Clifton.

When next we meet we'll try it!

Each man unto his charge: for one man's head

A thousand Frenchmen shall be slaughtered.

Exeunt omnes.

Act 2 Scene 2

Enter URSULA.

Ursula. Good wives, widows, and young wenches! Pardon
me, for I am touched in conscience to rail on my own
sex. I blame not those misogynists that say women
are froward, inconstant, and what-not. I protest I
begin to mistrust mine own thoughts: I'm quite out 5
of love with all women's goodness. Fie upon us
weathercocks! Of all things sublunary, the worst of
creatures! We, painted sepulchres, rotten braveries, silly
ciphers until men's figures supply us, and yet we cannot
render 'em a constant minute. All this is manifest in my 10
new bride: she, that yesterday gave faith to one, the next
day married another and, now married, she's sick of the
sullens, she wants youth to enflame and give satiety a
fresh appetite. Fie upon us mooncalves, and created
fools be those men that credit us. I see I'm cut off! 15

Enter YOUNG BATEMAN.

Young Bateman. I wear that visage formerly I did:
Six moons has not so metamorphosed me
But that I may be known. All my friends,

My familiar 'ssociates and acquaintance,
 Carelessly pass me with a heavy glance 20
 As if I were some rioter or prodigal
 Who, having shipwrecked reputation
 After an act of bankruptcy, compounds
 With debtor and creditor. Others
 Shake me by th' hand, but with such lenity 25
 As if I burnt them or that I, from the wars,
 Had brought home some diseases as killing
 As the plague, or more infectious.
 My father (whether for joy or sorrow
 As tears be answerable to both passions) 30
 But he wept, cried welcome home, and sighed
 As if some drops of blood fell from his heart.
 Heaven has a hand in all things: if that
 My Nan be well, we will dispense with griefs
 Of lower kinds' kind. Cousin Ursula! 35

Music [heard.]

Ursula. Y're welcome home, Sir.

Young Bateman. How fares my sweetest Nan?

Ursula. Sooth, badly. She has been planet-struck e'er since

you went. She fell into a lethargy: since noon, a
kind of qualm came o'er her stomach like a cramp 40
or convulsion.

Young Bateman. The meaning of this music?

Ursula. We had a wedding today, and the young fry tickle
trenchmore.

JERMANE and ANNE are [seen] in the window.

Young Bateman. A wedding? And here this day? 45
Bless me! What prodigious object
Is yond that blasts mine eyes and like a thief
Steals my understanding? Certes 'tis she!
Is it not? Speak, Ursula!

Ursula. I know not, for had she as many bodies as hearts, 50
she might be here and yonder, too.

Young Bateman. Now, by my life!

Ursula. Nay, swear not! If you have any ill language to spare,
I'll send my cousin to you presently.

Exit [URSULA.]

Young Bateman. Strange fears assail my senses and begin 55
Conflicts of despairs, doubts and fears.
And, but I have a resolution fixed
On her fidelity, this frontispiece,
And other entertainments, might confirm
Former presages. 60

Enter ANNE, URSULA.

Anne. Who is't would speak with me?

Ursula. One that may be jealous, though he wears no yellow.

Young Bateman. [Aside] Her sight, like to a cordial, has expelled
All former gross suggestions. Methinks
I taste my happiness ere I touch it. 65

Anne. Beshrew thy heart for this!

Ursula. Beshrew your own false [heart]! If there be ill, 'tis of
your own begetting. I'll provide cock-broths and
caudles for your old cock-sparrow.

Exit [URSULA.]

Young Bateman. [Aside] She's dumb with joy and I, like to a man 70

Entranced with joys unutterable, cannot speak.

But I have lost myself. I am awake

And see a substance more than dreamers do.

[To Anne] Thus, in the arms of love I do enfold thee!

Anne. I do not know you - touch me not! 75

Young Bateman. I wonder then, how I dare know my self
 When thou forgetst me? I had thought
 Had I been sullied with the sooty Moor
 Or tanned with heat like some Egyptian slave,
 Or spotted like the Persian leopard 80
 Or, in the worst form can be termed
 Or imagined, yet thou couldst have known me.
 I am thy Bateman, Nan!

Anne. If you be Bateman
 'Twere best you travelled from my father's ground
 Lest he indict you. 85

Young Bateman. If he should, yet if thou stand the judge
 I know thou wilt acquit me of the crime.

But thou art pleasant and, like to a tender nurse,
Heightens my infant joys before it comes.

Be not so strange, this nicety in you 90
Has not been usual.

Anne. It must be now, for I am married.

Young Bateman. I know thou art: to me, my fairest Nan.
Our vows were made to heaven, and on earth
They must be ratified. In part they are: 95
By giving of a pledge, a piece of gold
Which, when we broke, jointly then we swore
Alive or dead for to enjoy each other.
And so we will, 'spite of thy father's frowns.

Anne. You talk idly, Sir. These sparks of love 100
That were 'twixt you and me are quite extinct.
Pacify yourself, you may speed better:
You'll show much wit and judgement if you do.

Young Bateman. She flouts me.

Anne. If you will be wise and live one year a bachelor, 'tis 105
ten to one that's odds I bury my husband ere I
wear out my wedding ring.

Young Bateman. Ha! A ring! And on the right finger, too!
Thou playst the cruel murderer of my joys
And like the deadly bullet from a gun 110
Thy meaning kills me ere thy words get vent.
Whose ring is that?

Anne. My husband's.

Young Bateman. And art thou married?

Anne. I am.

Young Bateman. When?

Anne. This day.

Young Bateman. Accursed day! To whom?

Anne. To wealthy Jermane.

Young Bateman. To wealthy misery! 115

Now my presaging visions do appear,
Th'unusual gestures of my mournful friends
I now perceive was thine. False woman!
As subtle in deceit as thy first grandam;

She but deceived herself, deceiving man 120

As thou, her imp of subtlety, has done.

Strengthen me, you ever-hallowed powers,

Guard me with patience, that I may not curse,

Be[cause] I loved her. Be assured this:

Alive or dead, thy promise thou shall keep. 125

I must and will enjoy thee.

Anne.

And may I tell you, if you'll stay my husband's funeral

I'll promise you I'll mourn and marry all in a month.

Young Bateman.

Ah, monstrous! She plays with my disasters

As boys with bubbles blown up into air. 130

You, that have care of innocents, be my guard

Lest I commit some outrage on myself,

For such an overture and flood of woes

Surrounds me that they almost drowned

My understanding. Thy perjuries shall be writ 135

With pens of diamonds upon leaves of steel

And kept, as statues are, to show the world.

You constant lovers that have truly loved

Without foul thoughts or lustful appetites,

Come wail with me and, when your swelling breasts 140

Grow big with curses, come sit down and sigh.

Such an inconstant fair one I have met,

Whose deeds I shame to nominate, yet she
Shamed not to do them.

Anne. Pretty passion this. Ha! Ha! Ha! 145

Young Bateman. Take thy good night of goodness. This night,
Thy bridal night, take leave of sacred virtue.
Never think for to be honest more,
Never keep promise, for thou now mayst swear
To any, thou never meant to do. 150
Hold, swelling heart, for thou art tumbling down
A hill of desperation. Dark thoughts
Assault my goodness, but thou shalt keep promise.
Alive or dead, I will enjoy thee yet.
(I have not cursed thee yet, remember that.) 155
And when thou'st stained thy innocent sheets with lust
And with satiety filled thy empty veins,
Wearied the night with wanton dalliances
More prime than goats or monkeys in their pride,
Call then to mind how pleasant this had been 160
Had it not been adulterate. For Jermane
Is not thy husband, 'tis Bateman is the best.
(I have not cursed thee yet, remember that).
I'll muster up the forces of a man
To quench the rising flames that harbour here 165

And if I can forget thee, by my hopes, I will,
 And never curse the auth'ress of my ill.
 I have not cursed thee yet. Now remember,
 Alive or dead, 'tis I that must enjoy thee.

Exit [YOUNG BATEMAN.]

Enter URSULA.

Ursula. By my virginity, the groom cries to bed: night 170
 goes to ghost. How now, another Niobe turned to
 stone? Bless me! Has the conjurer been here?

Young Bateman. [Offstage] Alive or dead I must and will enjoy thee.
 It was my promise; I cannot choose but weep.
 I have not cursed thee yet, remember that. 175

Ursula. Hey, day! What inundations are here? Will you
 come away? An' the groom should geld himself
 for anger there would be fine sport.

Anne. I have lost myself, and know not where I am.

Enter BOOTE.

Boote. Come, come! I have danced till every joint about 180
me grows stiff but that which should be! To bed,
wench! The groom, he's out-gone thee, he's
warming the sheets the first night, i'faith.

Anne. To bed? Oh, heavens, would it were to my grave
So I might never hear of my misdeeds. 185
T have not cursed thee yet. Remember that!
Alive or dead I must and will enjoy thee'.
How like the deadly tolling of a bell,
A peal of sad presages, were his words.

Boote. Ha! Weeping? This is not customary on bridal 190
nights. Niece, who was with your coz tonight?

Ursula. Uncle, there was a certain man.

Boote. Ay! Ay! But where is that certain man?

Ursula. There is the woman, but the certain man is gone.

Anne. A certain man indeed, for whom I now 195
Could weep a sea to wash out my pollutions.

Boote. But nimble-chaps, tongue-trotter, neats-tongue,

Mrs Magpie! What was this certain man called?

Ursula. With reverence, uncle, his name was Bateman.

Boote. An undermining knave! I will indict him **200**
For daring to set foot upon my ground!
This day his father hath arrested me
Upon an action of a thousand pounds -
A pre-contract betwixt his son and thee.
To bed, my wench! Bateman shall surely find **205**
Me master of my words when his proves wind!

Exeunt omnes.

Act 2 Scene 3

Enter MARTIGUES meeting CLIFTON.

Clifton. Thou keepst thy promise, Martigues.

Martigues. In all things, as befits a man of worth.
Thou hast abused my princely mistress' name,
Sullied her royalties with infamies
And from thy throat, as from a serpent's chaps, 5
Belched poisons 'gainst the dowager of France.
To prove these false I made this sally forth
Only to combat thee.

Clifton. By my halidom!
I'm glad I've waked thy temper.
The end still finds itself in every act 10
And so shalt thou in thy presumptuous braves.
The honour of my mistress makes me young:
Her name shoots majesty into my looks,
Valour into my heart, strength to this arm
Which thou shalt feel to thunder on thy helm. 15
Guard thee, Frenchman, I'm sure thou canst not fly!
Bravely I'll kill thee, or else bravely die!

Thou art my prisoner, Martigues!

[They]fight: CLIFTON disarms him.

Enter GREY, ARGYLL, soldiers.

Martigues. Through chance of war I am!

Argyll. Hew him in pieces!

Clifton. By my halidom! 20

My life shall stand between him and danger.

He's my prisoner and by the law of arms,

Yielding himself a captive to our mercy.

His life is ransomable; let our General

Decree his ransom and after, dispose of him. 25

Grey. Noble Clifton, his ransom is thine own.

Dispose of him as thou pleasest.

Clifton. By my halidom, and will!
There, take thy arms, return back to Leith
With our best convoy. I tell thee, Martigues, 30

My hatred is not capital, though honour

And war's necessity made me storm.

When to these walls thou see'st my white coats come

With scaling ladders to assault the town

Be merciful, as I have been to thee. 35

This is all Clifton's ransom.

Martiques. I shall report thee noble.

Grey. Thanks, noble Clifton,

Thou still add'st honour to thy country's fame.

Make scaling ladders, for we straight intend

By heaven's assistance to mount these walls. 40

Courage, brave spirits! Every act finds end.

We'll teach the Frenchman keep within his bounds

Or send him home full of heroic wounds.

Exeunt omnes.

Act 2 Scene 4

[Enter] YOUNG BATEMAN in his shirt, a halter about his neck.

| | | |
|-----------------------|---|----|
| <i>Young Bateman.</i> | It is resolved. Life is too burdensome: | |
| | I've borne while I can and have suppressed | |
| | All insurrections pale death has made. | |
| | It is my terror that I live to think | |
| | I bear a life that is offensive to me. | 5 |
| | Pale monster, in thy meagrest aspect, | |
| | Come and affront me. Fill thy unpaunched nerves | |
| | With my heart's blood till, with the overture, | |
| | Thy never-satisfied maw be sated. | |
| | But, cowardly monster, thou approachest none | 10 |
| | But those that fly thee and, like to greatness, | |
| | Wouldst be so elevated for doing good | |
| | That of thyself thou never didst intend. | |
| | Poor snakes that are in worldly sorrows lowest | |
| | Cannot participate thy ebon dart. | 15 |
| | 'Tis said thou art not partial and dost wind | |
| | The prince, the beggar and the potentate | |
| | All in one mould. But they do falsify | |
| | That say thou art so tyrannously just, | |
| | For I have sought thee through the unpenned groves, | 20 |

The shady cells where melancholy walks
 And, echo-like, thou answer'st me with death
 But dar'st not show thy face. The world's monarch,
 In three fits of an ague, died; some flies
 Some silly gnats can kill. Let me consume, 25
 Then mayst thou brag thy conquest, that thou slew'st
 What neither love nor hatred could destroy.
 Since thou disdain'st me, I disdain thy power.
 There be a thousand ways to cozen death.
 Behold a tree! Just at her door, a fruitless tree 30
 That has in autumn cast her leafy boughs,
 Sorry to show such fruit as she produces.
 The night seems silent, sleep charms the house,
 And now the peijured woman is a-topping.
 I'll climb as high as she, yet I'll not rest, 35
 My airy ghost shall find her where she lies
 And to her face divulge her peijuries.
 Night, be auspicious, draw thy sable weeds
 For daylight is ashamed of her black deeds.
 One twitch will do't, and then I shall be wed 40
 As firm unto my grave as to her bed.

Falls, hangs.

Enter OLD BATEMAN in his shirt, with torch.

Old Bateman.

I've missed my boy out of his bed tonight.

Heaven grant that he be well, for in his eyes

Sad discontentment sits. 'Til yesterday

I never saw him so propense to sorrow, 45

Nor deeply touched with distemperature.

When I began to tell him of his mistress

Which I, in violence of words, branded

With damned perjury, as heaven knows

She has consumed her goodness, then would he 50

Sit by and sigh and, with salt tears trilling

Down his cheeks, entreat me not to name her.

Curse her I must not. Then would he steal to bed,

As full of mournful sorrows as a sinner.

'Tis almost mom and I suspect him here, 55

Hovering about this house. Oft would he say

He wooed her underneath a plum tree

And underneath that tree he vowed to sit

And tell his sorrows to the gummy boughs,

Though she disdained to hear them. *[Sees son.]* Protect me! 60

Good angels guard me! What heavy sight is this

That, like a sullen sadness, reaves my sense?

Prove false mine eyes, that this may prove untrue,

Better you never had seen than to see this.

Leave your slimy cisterns and drop out. 65

'Tis he! 'Tis he! Would I could tell a lie!

The falsest one that e'er was told by man,
 That this might prove untrue. But 'tis in vain
 To dark the sun or wrestle 'gainst the truth.
 Murderers, look out! I'll rouse the thunderer 70
 To rouse you from your sleeps. False fiends, come out
 And see a deed the day will be ashamed of,
 Caused by your peijuries!

[Enter] BOOTE, ANNE, URSULA.

Boote. Who's that which calls
 With horrid terror and such affrightments 75
 As when scathefires devast' our villages?

Old Bateman. Look this way, monster! See, thou adult'ress!
 Behold the miserablest map of woe
 That ever father mourned for! My poor boy,
 Hard-hearted fate that brought thee to this end. 80
 Hated vipers they that were the causers.

Boote. How dar'st thou, Bateman, come upon my ground?

Old Bateman. Cursed be thy ground, and cursed be all trees
 That bring forth such abortive fruit as this!

Boote. Ha! Ha! Has he hanged himself and saved justice
a labour?

Anne. I never looked for better end of him, he had a
malevolent aspect in his looks. Ha! Ha! Ha!

Old Bateman. Laughest thou, crocodile?
Are miseries lamented with contempts?
The books of fate are not so closely shut
But they may open and record the scorns
Dwelling in every region of thy face.
A fixed decree may be set down for thine,
And thou mayst swan-like sing a funeral ode.
Who then shall laugh at thee?

Boote. I laugh to see how well sorrow becomes thee.

Old Bateman. Such dire becomings mayst thou never want.
Thou, that wert once the jewel of these eyes,
Look here and see the ruins of pale death.
How soon a gorgeous palace is sunk down.
Though he has surfeited upon this piece
He has not ta'en the colour off his cheek.
Nature contests with death and will outdo him.
Canst not thou spare one tear to balm him in

Nor lend a sigh as sorry for his fall?
 If not today, I'll come again tomorrow
 So thou wilt shed two tears and one poor sigh,
 Then gentle Charon will assign him waftage.
 Thy griefs are violent and work within; 110
 'Tis a foul sign of an unperceant heart
 Whenas the eyes cannot impart a tear.
 Since none of you will weep, I'll weep alone
 Till, Niobe-like, my tears convert to stone.

Anne. Had you disciplined your son in's youth 115
 You might then have prevented your tears.
 'Cause he was bad and I did shun his evils
 Must I be held the caus'ress of his ills?
 Must my virtues beget his perverseness
 Or my obedience breed his shameful death? 120
 If the world balance me uprightly just
 I care not then which way you turn the scales.

Old Bateman. Worse than the worst that ever could be named!

Anne. My best counsel is that you bury him as the custom of
 the country is, and drive a stake through him; so 125
 perhaps I, that had no quietness with him whilst he lived,
 may sleep in peace now he's dead.

Old Bateman.

I will not curse thee, 'twas my boy's request.

Such deeds as these sink not in oblivion;

The justness of my cause I leave to heaven. 130

Mayst thou live mother of many children,

And may they prosper better than did mine.

Come, poor boy, these arms have borne thee oft;

I'll have thy picture hung up in my chamber

And, when I want thee, I will weep to that. 135

Death's leaden plummets draw thine eyelids down.

Since none will sing sad obsequies but I,

I'll call the linnet, redbreast, and the throstle;

The nightingale shall bear the burthen too

For she is exquisite in tragic notes. 140

We'll have a funeral hymn and, o'er thy hearse,

This woman's perjuries I'll pen in verse.

[Exit OLD BATEMAN.]

Enter [URSULA.]

Anne.

How now, cousin? Weeping?

Ursula.

'Truth, cousin,

Though griefs of lower kinds assail me not

I never was so touched unto the heart. 145

Mine eyes, so flexible, are to melt in tears:

I cannot stop 'em. I shall be still afraid

To walk to th'door when I behold this tree

For fear his ghost haunt me. I wonder much

You could forbear from passionating? 150

Anne.

Afraid on's ghost? As much as of a picture painted

o'th' wall! That's just like we fools that rub our

shins 'gainst the bedposts in our dreams and then

swear the fairies pinched us. He swore he would

have me quick or dead! Let him lie still in's grave: 155

I will in my bed, and let consequences prove the rest.

Boote.

Ghosts, hobgoblins, Will-with-Wisp or Dick-a-Tuesday!

Thy husband, wench, this mom journeys to Newcastle

And hardly will return these twelve moons.

Let's feast with him; for ghosts and such-like toys 160

Leave them to foolish dotards, girls and boys.

Exeunt omnes.

ACT 3

Act 3 Scene 1

Enter ANNE hastily, URSULA pursuing, [both] with lights.

Anne. Keep off! Keep back, I charge thee!

Ursula. 'Las cousin! I'm not infectious, my breath cannot
blast you!

Anne. It haunts me as my shadow, or a vision:
It will not let me rest, sleep, nor eat. 5
The barricaded doors and iron locks
No sooner shut but, like a new-clasped book,
Their leafy hinges straightway fall asunder
And it gets in. I wonder 'tis not here.
This is a gentle respite and not usual; 10
Since Jermane went I never had so much.
It plays the sentinel at my bed's feet
And but it wants the rosy-coloured face
Whom meagre death has played the horse-leech with,
It would not seem so ghostly in these eyes. 15
It bears the perfect form it used to do

As if it never knew immortality
Nor wasted underneath a hill of clay.
Sometimes as curious limners have portrayed
Tears trilling from the weeping Niobe 20
That some would swear the very picture wept
And art of nature got the mastery.
So did I guess a flux of brinish tears
Came from this airy and unfathomed ghost.
And could the painters of this age draw sighs, 25
I could demonstrate sighs and heavy groans,
As if a sensible heart had broke in twain.
Then would it turn and cry 'False woman!'
And leave me to descant on the rest.

Ursula. You tell me of an object, and a strange one, 30
But whose is the resemblance?

Anne. Ay, there's the point.
For that I must be pardoned. Oh, my shame;
That I should be the caus'ress of a deed
I blush to nominate. 35

Ursula. Has it no name?

Anne. Yes, sweet Ursula,

But such a one as sadly aggravates
 My woes in repetition. Pray leave me,
 I am addicted to contemplation;
 But rest within my call. 40

Ursula. 'Tis but your fond conceit. I've heard you say that
 dreams and visions were fabulous and yet, one time, I
 dreamt foul water ran through the floor and the next day
 the house was on fire. You used to say hobgoblins,
 fairies and the like were nothing but our own 45
 affrightments and yet, on my truth, coz, I once dreamed of
 a young bachelor and was rid with a nightmare. But
 come; so my conscience be clear I never care how foul
 my dreams are.

Exit [URSULA.]

Anne. Thou now hast touched the point. 50
 'Tis conscience is the alarm bell, indeed,
 That makes us sensible of our good or bad.
 You that are lovers, by me you may perceive
 What is the burden of a troubled mind.
 Take heed of vows and protestations 55
 Which wantonly in dalliances you make.
 The eye of heaven is on you, and your oaths

Are registered which, if you break, bless me.

Enter GHOST.

Ghost.

Thou canst not fly me.

There is no cavern in the earth's vast entrails 60

But I can through as perçant as the light

And find thee, though thou wert entombed in stone.

Thou canst not catch my unsubstantial part

For I am air and am not to be touched.

From flaming fires of burning Phlegethon 65

I have a time limited to walk

Until the morning cock shall summon me

For to retire to misty Erebus.

My pilgrimage has no cessation

Until I bring thee with me to the place 70

Where Rhadamanth and sable Aeacus dwell.

Alive or dead, 'tis I that must enjoy thee.

To tell the story where we spirits live

Would pluck vermilion from thy rosy cheeks

And make them pale as snowy Apennines 75

And, from thine eyes, draw liquid streams of tears

More frill of issue than a steepy fountain.

Alive or dead, I must and will enjoy thee.

Think on thy promise!

Anne. Distraction, like an ague, seizes me. 80

I know not whether I see, hear, or speak:

My intellectual parts are frozen up

At sight of thee, thou fiery effigies

Of my wronged Bateman.

Enter **BOOTE, URSULA.**

Boote. What, weeping again?

Anne. Do you not see it? 85

Boote. See? What? I see nothing but a bird fly o'er the house.

Ursula. Nor I. But a blind buzzard looks as like her
husband as may be.

Anne. Are you blind, or will you make yourselves so?

See! How like a dreadful magistrate it stands 90

Still pointing at me, the black offender;

And like a cunning poisoner, will not kill me

But lets me linger on for days and years.

It stares, beckons, points, to the piece of gold

We brake between us. Look! Look there! Here! There! 95

Boote. I see nothing, perceive nothing, feel nothing.

Ursula. Nor I. No quick thing, neither clothed nor naked.

Boote. No! No! No! You drank balm (borage or bugloss)
last night to bedward that makes you think on your
dreams this morning. 100

Anne. But I will to't, hug and embrace it.

Ghost. Thy time is not yet come: I'm now exiled.
I may not touch thee while thou art with child.

Exit GHOST.

Anne. You do not hear it, neither?

Boote. Whom should we hear?

Anne. Young Bateman's visage; 105
In every limb as perfect as he lived.

Boote. If it be so, 'tis done by sorcery.
The father has combined with some witch
To vex thy quiet patience and gain credit

That he would haunt thee dead, as oft he said. 110

Hell can put life into a senseless body

And raise it from the grave and make it speak;

Use all the faculties alive it did

To work the devil's hellish stratagems.

If I but find he deals in exorcisms 115

I'll make him bum to pacify the witch.

But do not believe it, girl.

Anne. 'Tis vanished in an instant:

I will not be too confident in my eyes.

Will you grant me leave to visit Bateman? 120

Boote. Visit mine enemy?

Anne. I have an inward sorrow bids me do it.

I did him wrong to gibe his miseries

When as he bore the dead corpse in his arms.

My genius tells me I shall have no rest 125

Till I have made contrition.

Boote. But not to him:

I'd rather live subjected to a Turk!

Go not, my girl. I'll feast all thy senses:

Thy palate shall with viands be supplied,

Thine ears with heavenly rapture live inspired, 130
 Thine eyes with sportive action and delight,
 Thou shalt have music to consume the day
 And waft the night.

Anne. Music? Harsh raven's croak,
 Screech owls shrill: the augurers of night
 Are fit companions for my melancholy. 135
 I must go see him! If this apparition
 Appears not in his sight, my conjecture
 Shall judge it nothing but my conscience
 That finds me guilty for my black offence.

Exit [ANNE.]

Boote. Follow her, niece! 140
 She bears a pleurisy of griefs about her,
 And much I fear the weakness of her brain
 Should draw her to some ominous exigent.
 Would she had ne'er infringed her vow to Bateman
 Or I had ne'er known this wealthy Jermane. 145
 If he prove harsh to her I'll make him know
 An enforced hate to vengeance is not slow.

Exeunt omnes.

Act 3 Scene 2

Enter JOSHUA, his cat [tied] in a string, MILES, BALL.

Ball Nay, sweet Jo, be persuaded!

Joshua. Persuade me! I scorn to be persuaded! Ball, thou art
heathenish, for the offence is foul which thou wouldst
cloak. I'm not to be persuaded! I will doom the creature
and bum the cloak of her knavery. Yet, in sincerity, I 5
will do nothing without good colour.

Miles. Thy colours, Jo, were better bestowed on coarse waiting-
women, Madam Macaroons, that sell paintings and stop holes
with plaster of Paris.

Joshua. Miller, miller! Thou art not mealy mouthed: those 10
be the heathen babbles, the maypoles of time and
pageants of vanity, but I will convince them of error and
scour their pollutions away with the waters of my exhortations.

Miles. Why shouldst thou hang thy cat?

Joshua. Thou art saucy, Miller, and oughtst not to 15

catechise me so.

Ball. And it were but for country sake!

Miles. Sweet Jo! Consider thy cat is thy countryman.

Ball. Hang a poor cat for killing a mouse!

Miles. Knowing the proverb too: cat after kind. 20

Ball As it is in the painted cloth, too: when the cat's
away, the mouse will play.

Joshua. Ay, but as it is in the painted cloth: beware in time,
for too much patience to dog or cat will breed too
much offence. She did kill a mouse, ay, but when? On 25
the forbidden day, and therefore she must die on Monday.

Miles. Then shall thy zeal be proclaimed for hanging thy
cat on Monday, for killing a mouse on Sunday.

Joshua. Miller! Thou art drunk in thy enormities and art
full of the cake of iniquity. 30

[Enter] GREY, ARGYLL, CLIFTON.

Ball. Well, to thy execution we commit thee!

Joshua. Blessed be the instruments of silence. Poor puss,
take it not ill that I must hang thee; by that means
I free thee from bawling mastiffs and snarling curs.
I have brought thee up of a whelp and now will have 35
a care of thy end.

[JOSHUA] ties [the cat.]

Grey. A notable exhortation!

Clifton. List to the squeal!

Joshua. When thou art dead thou shalt not curse me, for
my proceedings shall be legal. Thou art at the 40
bar of my mercy, and thus I ascend to judgement,
as it is in the painted cloth.

Grey. Harken the indictment!

Joshua. Tibert the Cat! As it is in the painted cloth of the
bull and cock, sometimes housekeeper, drudger or 45

scourer to Marmaduke Joshua, limner alias painter-stainer, and now the corrector or extirper of vermin, as rats, mice and other waspish animals; thou art here indicted by thy dear master, Marmaduke Joshua, for breaking of the high-day. What sayst thou for thyself? Guilty or Not Guilty? Ha!

Grey. Would she could mew Not Guilty!

Joshua. Knowst thou not, thou silly cat, that thy brethren will not kill the calf nor roast the mutton, nor boil their flesh pots on the high-day? Was it not decreed by our learned brother, Abbot Cabbage, cobbler of Amsterdam, that they should be held unclean and not worthy of the means that did it? And didst not expect Cratchet cool his proud flesh in the Leen for making insurrection on the high day?

Clifton. A point well watered.

Joshua. Did not Nadab the sow-gelder make a gaunt of his gelt for being cumbersome on the high-day? Ha! Thy silence argues guilt. Hast thou not seen the whole conventicle of brothers and sisters walk to St Ann's, and not so much as a fructifying kiss

on the high ...

Grey. [Aside] It seems the elect kiss weakly.

Joshua. And must thou kill a mouse? Oh, thou wicked cat!
 Couldst not turn up the white of the eye for the 70
 poor creature? Thou gluttonous cat! Thou art now
 arraigned. I adjudge thee to be hanged this Monday
 for killing a mouse yesterday, being the high-day.

Offers to hang her.

Grey. Stay! Stay! A Pardon! A Pardon!

Joshua. I am hot in my zeal and fiery in expedition. 75

Clifton. We'll talk with you hereafter.

Joshua. I was executing a point of justice, equity, and
 conscience.

Grey. A pleasant tragicomedy, the cat being 'scaped!
 What trumpet's this? 80

Enter ROUGE CROIX.

Rouge Croix.

Monluc, Bishop of Valence,
Newly anchored in the haven of Inchkeith
Desires safe convoy by your honour's forces
From the red Braies to Edinburgh Castle.
The rest, on interview, he will impart.
Such entertainment as the war affords,
The drum, the fife, the thundering cannon,
The shrill trumpets, and all war-like cymbals,
Such music, as in wars soldiers measure,
Bestow on him. Come he in war or peace
He shall be welcome.

Joshua. [Aside]

Oh, that profane surplice! Ho, Ho, Ho!

Enter MONLUC [with] appropriate salutations.

Monluc.

Mary, King Dauphin's wife, dowager of France
And heir apparent to the Scottish crown,
Hearing of devastations in her lands
And the oppressions that her neighbour princess
With rough hostility grinds her people,
Me, her legate, she sends to Edinburgh
To parley with her mother, the Queen Regent,
And Article a peace 'twixt her dear sister,
The Queen of England, and the Lords of Scotland,

If our conditions may be made with honour.

This is my message.

Grey.

Either for peace or war

The Queen, my mistress, now is armed for both.

For, like a virtuous princess and a mother 105

O'er us, her loving subjects and her sons,

She, knowing a king's security rests

In the true love and welfare of her people,

Raised this hostility for to guard herself,

Not to offend but to defend her own. 110

Her Secretary, Cecil, now attends

On the like Embassy for Edinburgh,

Whither yourself shall safely be convoyed.

Monluc.

You are an honourable foe.

Grey.

Will the Queen

Lay by her nicety, rough filed phrase, 115

And not articulate too much with England?

For, by the power of war, ere two suns rise

We'll mount the walls of Leith and sacrifice

Her gilded towers and her French insulters

In flames of fire. We vow to hazard lives

120

And honours in the enterprise.

Exeunt omnes.

Act 3 Scene 3

Enter ANNE with a torch, URSULA, [OLD] BATEMAN wailing [over] his picture.

Anne. Softly! Softly! Fie on your creaking shoes: what
noise they make. Shut the doors close! It does
not hear us a jot. Look well to the Damick
hangings, that it play not the court page with us.

Ursula. Here's not so much as a shadow to affright us. For 5
mine own part, neither incubus nor succubus can do't.
I fear not what a quick thing can do, and I think your
dead things are too quiet to say any harm.

Anne. Yet all is clear. No frightful vision
Nor ghostly apparition haunts me yet. 10
Yonder's thy father! Good powers assist me
That I may gain his patience to hear me,
And I am heartily satisfied.

Old Bateman. [Aside] Pygmalion doted on the piece he made,
So do not I, upon thy portraiture; 15
I do but hang thy fair resemblance here
To tell me of my immortality.

How sensible young cedars are o'th' wind.

When as the aged oak affronts all storms

'Tis death and nature's fault for the diamond 20

Of blooming youth [to] despise decaying age.

He might have ta'en me else, and left thee, boy.

Anne. Whom talks he to? My life, coz! He has a ghost
too, yet I see nothing.

Old Bateman. How now, hyena? Why cam'st thou hither? 25

Com'st thou again to gibe my miseries?

Has thy maligning-hearted father sent thee

To scoff my sorrows? Keep off, I charge thee!

Thou didst bewitch my poor boy with a kiss;

Thy breath is sure infectious, and I fear 30

There's something in thee smells of sorcery.

Stand at distance!

Anne. Good Sir, use patience;

That, in extremity, is sovereign balm.

Tears be my witness, I come to comfort you,

Yet I see nothing.

Old Bateman. Tears? 'Tis impossible! 35

Marble will drop and melt against the rain

And from the craggy rocks fountainous floods
 Oft get enforced issues. But to gain
 Relenting tears from thy obdurate heart
 'Tis impossible as to force fire from snow,
 Water from flint, say the sun shall not shine
 As well upon the beggar as the king,
 That is alike indifferent to all.

40

Ursula.

Good Sir, remember

Forgiveness is an attribute of heaven.

She has a hearty sorrow for her sins

45

And comes to make atonement, if you please.

Anne. [Aside]

Still I [see] no thing, anywhere.

Old Bateman.

Pray listen:

Would not that physician be well-hanged

That, for his practice' sake, kills his patient

And, after, pleads a sorrow to his friends?

50

She weeps, an evidence of a hearty sorrow.

My boy would not have seen her weep thus long

But he'd have ministered comfort. My tears

Play the thief with mine eyes too.

Anne.

Yet all is safe: sure it was but my dreams.

55

Sir, you had a son . . . Bless me! 'Tis here now,

Enter GHOST.

In the same figure that it used to be!
Peace is more dear and precious unto me
Than a night's rest to a man turmoiled in law.
My eyes set here unmoved. I'll gaze with thee 60
Until the windows of my head drop out,
But then my mind will be afflicted too
For what is unseen there, is visible here.
Lead me! I'll follow, though to a desert
Or any uncouth place. Work thy vengeance 65
And do not torture me alive, neither.

Ghost. All things keep their time.

Anne. Let all time's daughters, which are days, convert
To one day, and bring me to my period.

Old Bateman. Whom converses she withal? 70

Ursula. To her unseen fancies.

Anne. See! With eyes of wonder, see!

Old Bateman.

What should I see?

Anne.

Ask you 'What?' Why, 'tis your son,

Just as he died. Look! Look! There! Here! There!

75

Old Bateman.

Is this thy sorrow? Com'st thou to mock me?

Anne.

Just heavens, not I! See how it smiles on you!

On me it hurls a dejected look.

Old Bateman.

Because I hang his picture near my bed

Com'st thou to laugh me? Out! Out, fondling! No!

80

See thus I gaze on't, stroke his snowy hands

And prune the curled tresses of his locks

Which the arts-man nearly has dishevelled.

[ANNE] *takes the picture.*

Ursula.

Good Sir! Have patience. Hers is true sorrow

And not derision.

[ANNE] *stands between the picture and* **GHOST.**

Anne.

Another Ganymede!

85

This eye and yond are one. This front, that lip,

This cheek a little ruddier shows than that,
The very ashy paleness of his face,
The mossy down still growing on his chin.
And so his alabaster finger pointing
To the bracelet whereon the piece of gold
We broke between us hangs.

90

Old Bateman. Certes she's mad!

Anne. Pray, come hither!

You shade this picture from the perçant sun
And curtain it, to keep it from the dust.
Why are you not as chary then of that?
It looks as it were cold; alas, poor picture.

95

Old Bateman. Here's but one picture.

Anne. I say there's two!

You will not see this for to save a curtain:
His knotty curls, like to Apollo's trammels,
Neatly are displayed. I'll swear the painter
That made this piece had the other by it.
Why do you not speak to it? 'Tis your son.
Maybe he's tongue-tied and cannot crave blessing?

100

Old Bateman. I could tell thee I nailed him to the earth, 105
Riveted a stake quite through his bosom
And bid thee go seek him. But I love not
To mock miseries. I'll take this picture hence:
It troubles your sight

[OLD BATEMAN *takes the picture.*]

Anne. An' you'd remove that, I'd thank you. 110

Old Bateman. 'Tis thy forced fancies and thy guilt together
Persuades thee so. Pray thee, be a woman.
Whom thou cam'st to comfort, comforts thee.
Though I intended to have hurled at thee
Stings of dishonour, ignominies, reproaches, 115
And all the stock of calumnies and scorn
Which thou art guilty of, now my pity
Converts them into sorrow for thy sorrows.

Ursula. A blessing crown you for it!

Anne. And can there be a hope you will forgive me? 120

Old Bateman. Heartily I do.

Exit GHOST.

Anne. See! It's gone now
As if vexed to see your clemency.

Old Bateman. Distemper not yourself at fancies,
Your time hastens to maturity;
You're very big and may endanger your fruit 125
If you give way to passions.

Anne. 'Twill be abortive
As are my actions. I shall not live
To take felicity in it. See! It's here again!

Enter GHOST.

Ghost. All things keep their time.

Exit [GHOST.]

Old Bateman. Come! Go with me,
I'll give thee comfortable cordials 130
That shall remove these objects from thine eyes
Expelling all disastrous accidents

And plane thy thoughts as smooth as innocence

Which, when thou hearest, then in rapture boast

Thou dreadst no visions, fury, fiend, nor ghost.

135

Anne.

Be you my counsellor, and father, too.

Ursula.

Whom I admire for noble honesty.

Exeunt omnes.

ACT 4

Act 4 Scene 1

Enter GREY, CLIFTON, ARGYLL, JOSHUA, MILES, BALL, soldiers.

Grey. What day is this?

Clifton. Tuesday, the seventh of May.

Grey. This day shall in our English calendar stand
Either to our dishonour or great fames
When chronicles, in after ages, tell
The seventh of May we scaled the walls of Leith.
We have begun, dreadless of death and dangers
And, like to loyal subjects, held the rights
Of our dear mistress Queen Elizabeth.
When Captain Randall gives the alarm
‘Assault! Assault!’ each man salute his friend,
Take solemn farewell till this siege have end.

Omnes. Assault! Assault!

Grey. Holds every man his charge, as we ordered?

Clifton

I guess so, my lord.

Howard, with his lance-tiers, quarters 15

'Twixt Mount Pelham and the sea by west;

Stout Harry Percy, with his barbed steeds

Neighing for action, guards the tents by east;

Argyll, with shot, marches for the hill Brae;

Sir Francis Leake keeps the water-ports; 20

I, the green bulwark opposite to D'Oysel.

With tough hardy Nottinghamshire boys

We'll fall before we fly, by my halidom!

Grey.

I'll man this bulwark 'gainst proud Martigues.

Hark! The alarm! Each man unto his place! 25

Exeunt omnes.

Act 4 Scene 2

After skirmishes. Enter GREY, meeting CLIFTON [carrying] armour.

Grey. How goes the day, Sir Gervase?

Clifton. 'Tis bloody!

The thunderer, on both sides, shoots his bolts.

Valour is at the touchstone of true trial:

The French, like to so many gods of war,

Bravely brandish darting fire from steel; 5

The valiant Scot, Argyll, commands the hill;

The town plays fiercely. There came a shot

Of full two hundredweight into my tent.

D'Oysel has thrice assaulted me; I faced him

And from his sides, like Libyan Hercules, 10

I tore the rough Nemean lion's skin,

His armour of good proof, which here I bear

And will not part from, but with loss of life.

[Enter ARGYLL.]

Grey. See! Argyll appears!

Argyll.

Man the water-ports

With all the engines of defensive war! 15

Well fought, Vaughan! He mans the trenches bravely;

Young Arthur Grey assaults the stony mures;

Up go the scaling ladders, now they mount:

Now Somerset, now Read, now valiant Brae,

Towering like eager hawks; who shall get highest? 20

Like angry lions or incensed tigers

The Frenchmen labour, greedy for the prey;

Now the hardy Scots as swift as roes

Climb the walls and toss the Frenchmen down; 25

Now from the mount their thund'ring cannons roar,

Whose direful clangours shake their huge structures

And, like an earthquake, tumble to the earth

Their steeples, ordinance, gunners, all at once;

Now Inchkeith: Sutton, Newport, Conway, Fitton,

As dreadless enter dangers as their tents. 30

Accursed chance, the ladders are too short

Which gives a treble vantage to the French!

Now the foe triumphs; now our white coats fall;

Now groans the mother; now the virgin sighs.

Death will be master; neither party wins. 35

Now flies the English; now the French follow,

And now their horsemen fling about the sands.

Howard counterbuffs their canvasadoes;

Like chafed bulls or foaming boars they strive
For mastery. The Frenchmen fly the town
And seek for shelter. (Now, men, your trenches!)
Count Martigues and D'Oysel from the town
Make expedition. Now sings the god of war
His direful anthems; now fight, or never!
We now are freemen or else bondmen ever!

Alarm. Enter D'OYSEL, MARTIGUES, soldiers.

D Oysel. Thou bear'st my armour, Clifton!

Clifton. My halidom!

Thank me, D'Oysel, I did not take thy head!

Martigues. I came to seek thee, Grey.

Grey. The town, I see, was too hot to hold thee
Else thou'st have nestled in thy penthouse still.

Clifton. We'll not articulate.

Alarms. [Enter] MONLUC, ROUGE CROIX, between the armies.

Monluc. Th'effuse o**f** **blood** is great,

Which had been better never spent, than ill.

You of our party, by our commission

We do command your tarrying; your Lords

Of England and of Scotland, we entreat 55

A little patience till your heralds speak.

Rouge Croix.

William Cecil, the Queen's Secretary,

Wotton, Dean of Canterbury and York,

With Sir Ralph Sadler, joint Commissioners,

Commands thee, John, Lord Grey of Wilton, 60

Now General of her Majesty's forces,

To make immediate repair to Edinburgh

And present lay by all hostility

From this hour until seven o'clock at night.

Monluc.

The like on your allegiance to Mary, Dowager 65

of France and Queen of Scots, we do command.

Martigues.

We obey and instantly will give order.

Grey.

The like do you, Sir Gervase.

Clifton.

Now we have beaten them out of the town they

come to composition. 70

Grey. Give order through our trenches, tents, bulwarks,
 That not a piece of great nor smaller shot
 Prove prejudicial to the French, until from us
 You have commission. My Lord of Valence,
 I'll wait on you to the Commissioners. 75
 If we have peace 'tis welcome and if war,
 We are for either object; both we dare.

Exeunt MONLUC, GREY.

Clifton. My halidom!
 What a new monster England has begot:
 We cannot fight because we want commission! 80
 Martigues! D'Oysel! By my just halidom!
 It grieves me that we must not fight it out.
 Come, let's shake hands; till seven at night all friends.
 After such greetings as on war depends.

D'Oysel. We dread not chances. 85

Exeunt omnes.

Act 4 Scene 3

A bed covered with white.

Enter PRATTLE, MAGPIE, LONGTONGUE, BARREN with a child. ANNE in bed.

Prattle. Lord, Lord! What pretty imps you are in your majorities!

Magpie. Is it a man-child, Mother Prattle?

Prattle. No, in sooth Gossip Magpie, it is one of us. Heaven bless thee, baby! And a well appointed imp it is. 5

Longtongue. See how it smiles!

Barren. That's a sign of anger! 'Twill be a shrew, I lay my life.

Prattle. No, No, Mistress Barren! An infant smiling and a lamb bleating is a sign of fertility. It is so in Artemidorus: you frowned when you were bom and that's the reason you are so sterile. Artemidorus saith so in his fourth book. 10

| | | |
|--------------------|--|----|
| <i>Magpie.</i> | What pretty dimples it has! | |
| <i>Longtongue.</i> | Father's own eyes! | |
| <i>Prattle.</i> | Own nose! | |
| <i>Barren.</i> | Smooth forehead! | |
| <i>Magpie.</i> | Cherry lip! | 15 |
| <i>Prattle.</i> | Had it been man-child, there had been three evident signs of a whoremaster: a Roman nose, cherry lip and a bald pate, for so Artemidorus in his problems. | |
| <i>Magpie.</i> | Well, well! Whosoever got it, 'tis as like own father as an apple to a nut; in sooth, Gossip Prattle, it is. | 20 |
| <i>Longtongue.</i> | It smiles still! Sure it was begot in a merry house. | |
| <i>Barren.</i> | Then I was got in a merry vein. For, praised be to memory, my mother said I hung the lip at my nativity! | 25 |

Lord, Mother Prattle! Do the Modems report so?

Prattle.

Ay, surely, Gossip Magpie, and it is a great sign
of frugality if the stars and planets be concordant.

For, saith Artemidorus, if it be bom under 30

Venus, it will be fair as you are: if under Sol,

rich as you are, and if under Mercury . . .

Magpie.

Good Mother Prattle! What is that god Mercury?

Is it he that makes the white mercury waters

ladies scour their faces withal? 35

Prattle.

Ay, surely, Gossip, and stop their wrinkles too.

And, saith Artemidorus in his third book of

his Modems, if bom under Castor and Pollux,

store of children!

Magpie.

Castor and bollocks? 40

Prattle.

You speak broad, Gossip: 'tis Pollux!

Magpie.

Why, 'Bollux' be it then! Surely Barren was not bom

under 'Bollux', for she has been married this seven

years and never had child.

Barren. By your favour Gossip Magpie, you were bom under 45
 Castor and 'Bollux' then, for you had two children
 before you were married!

Enter URSULA.

Prattle. In sooth, Gossip, she has given you a veney.
 Good lack, Mistress Ursula. Where have you
 negotiated yourself? You should have been 50
 present and have negotiated yourself about
 the maxims and principles of child-bearing.
 What? You had a mother?

Ursula. And a father, too, Mother Midnight!

Prattle. No matter for the father. We talk of the surer 55
 side. You may be sure to know your mother
 when your mother hardly knows your father.
 'Tis a very facetious point as Artemidorus, in
 his book of dreams, sets it down.

Enter BOOTE.

Ursula. Here comes my uncle! 60

Prattle. Off with your hat, sir! You come not here
without reverence. See if the little infidel
smile not on him! Buss! Buss it!

Boote. Heavens bless the babe! What wares bears my little
infidel?

65

Prattle. Bless the baby! It has sufficient if it live to be of the
sages.

Boote. I mean, carries it an English pen and ink-horn, or a
Dutch watch [and] tankard?

Prattle. Bless the baby! It has, ay, marry, has it!

70

Boote. Is it a boy? Has it a purse and two pence in it?

Prattle. Bless the baby! It has a purse and no money in't yet
but it may have an' it please the destinies.

Boote. A purse and no money? By Saint Anthony! I thought
the groom went drunk to bed; he stole to't so early.

75

Prattle. Look how it smiles!

Boote. Admit me to the mother!

Ursula. She's now awake, sir.

Boote. I give my thanks to heaven, daughter Nan,
 Whose providence hath made thee a mother; 80
 Rejoice thou in the first fruits of thy womb.
 If any sad distempers trouble thy mind
 Sing lullabies unto this pretty babe
 And they will vanish. This must be now thy comfort.

Anne. Just heaven, I might have taken comfort 85
 In this pretty babe, now it is too late.
 Leave me your blessing, Sir, and depart hence.

Boote. You have some private occasions I'm not to
 question. Niece, bring the groaning-cheese and
 all requisites. I must supply the father's place and 90
 bid god-fathers.

Exit [BOOTE.]

Anne. Good women - whose helps I had but now.
 'Tis almost now of that necessity
 It was before - I pray be vigilant,

For if you slumber or shut your eyelids 95

You never shall behold my living corpse.

Prattle. Bless us, daughter! Say not so! I hope you will
not part in a trance nor steal away in a qualm.
Come! Come! What should be your reason?

Anne. Nothing but a dream. 100

Prattle. An't be a dream, let me come to it. Was it a
sorrowful dream? Artemidorus saith there be
divers kind of meats engender dreams, as beans,
long pease, lentils, coleworts, garlic, onions
and the like; leeks, chestnuts and other opening 105
roots as radish, carrots, skirrets, parsnips. Now
there is some flesh is provocative too, as the hart,
the boar, the old hare and beef, and then of fowls
as the crane, duck, drake, goose and bustard. If
you tasted any of these they will engender dreams. 110

Anne. Pray mark me, and let my words be written
Within your minds, as in a manuscript,
That when it proves so, you may say I told it.

Longtongue.

Peace, and hear her dream!

Anne.

Methought I walked along the verdant banks 115
 Of fertile Trent at an unusual time,
 The winter quarter, when herbs and flowers
 (Nature's choicest braveries) are dead,
 When every sapless tree fades at the root.
 Yet then, though contrary to nature, 120
 Upon those banks where foaming surges beat,
 I gathered flowers: roses red and damask,
 Love pansies, pinks, and gentle daffodils
 That seldom buds before the spring-time comes;
 Daisies, cowslips, harebells, marigolds, 125
 But not one bending violet to be seen.
 My apron full, I thought to pass away
 And make a garland of these fragrances.
 Just as I turned, I spied a lovely person
 Whose countenance was full of splendency 130
 With such embellishings as I may imagine
 Better than name them. It bade me follow it
 Then, methought, it went upon the water
 As firmly as on land. I, covetous
 To parley with so sweet a frontispiece, 135
 Leaped into th'water and so drowned myself.
 Pray watch me well this night for, if you sleep,

I shall go gather flowers, and then you'll weep.

Ursula. 'Twas a strange dream!

Prattle. But a very true one. Look you: Artemidorus, in his 140
third book of his *Modems*, saith to dream of flowers
is very good to a woman in child-bed. It argues she
shall soon enjoy her husband. To walk on the seas
specifies to a man, delight but, to a woman, a dissolute
life, for the sea is like a harlot, a gleery face and a 145
broken heart. Come, come! Do you sleep? We'll
watch. By this good drink, Gossip Magpie, I was
almost dry!

Anne. Lay the babe by me that I may kiss it.

Prattle. So! So! She sleeps! Come, sit round and let's have 150
a carouse to the little infidel.

Ursula. [Aside] Ay, marry, Sir, this is a silent hour, their teeth will
not let their tongues wag. Well drunk, Mother Midnight!
Now will she swear by this wine till she soak the
pot were it a fathom deep. 155

Prattle. By this good liquor, it is so!

Ursula. [Aside] Here's sweet swearing and deep vows: she goes
to th'bottom at every oath.

Magpie. And i'faith, Gossip Longtongue; when peeps the onion
out o'th' parsley-bed? When shall's come to your feast? 160

Longtongue. Truly, Gossip Magpie, when Castor and 'Bollux' reign.

Ursula. Sweet Mother Prattle, what be those Castor and
'Bollux'?

Prattle. Twins, daughter, that rule most; the sign being in
Virgo. Look you, Gossip Barren, could you once 165
dream of sore eyes you should be sure of children.

Barren. Good sooth, Mother Prattle, the first time I dreamed
I was with child, I got a husband presently!

Prattle. By this diet-bread, Artemidorus saith so. Mark,
Mistress Ursula, to dream to have lice either in 170
head or body, in some quantity, signifies a proper
man well appointed. And, by this drink, I dreamed my
husband, when he came first a wooing, came i'th'
likeness of a Kentish twindle pippin, that is just as
if two stones grew together. No sooner was I married 175

but I had two sons presently, just as Artemidorus saith,
by this diet-bread.

Ursula. [Aside] They have sworn all the wine and banquet away.

Barren. I know not what your 'twindles' are, but I'm sure
I tender Castor and 'Bollux' as dearly as any of you. 180
I cannot dream. Heigh-ho!

Prattle. You begin to be sleepy. I can prescribe you a
medicine of poppy, mandragora and other drowsy
syrops. Hey-day! All asleep? If my charge sleeps, let me
rest for, by this drink, I'm heavy too. 185

[ANNE and the women] all sleep.

Ursula. They're all asleep: I have a heavy slough
Come o'er my eyelids, Somnus' dorm hath struck me;
I cannot wake and must give way to rest.

[URSULA] sleeps. Enter GHOST.

Ghost. [To Anne] Death's eldest daughter, Sleep, with silences
Has charmed yond beldams. No jarring clock 190
Nor murmuring wind dares oppose just fate.

Awake, fond mortal, ne'er to sleep again!

Now is the time I come to claim my promise:

Alive or dead, I must and will enjoy thee.

Anne. Bless me, I was in my dream again. Ha! 195
 Mothers, cousins, midwives, all drowned in sleep;
 Then my decreed hour is here set down.
 I must away?

Ghost. With expedition.
 The ferryman attends thee at the verge
 Of Cocytus and sooty Acheron, 200
 And he shall waft thee into Tartary
 Where peijury and falsehood finds reward.
 There shalt thou read thy history of faults
 And, 'mongst the Furies, find just recompense.
 I'll bring thee over turrets, towers and steeples, 205
 O'er shady groves, brinish meres and brooks;
 The slatt'ring sea to me is navigable.
 O'er steepy mountains and the craggy rocks
 Whose heights kiss stars and stop the flying clouds,
 We'll through as swift as swallows in recourse. 210
 The chanticleer summons my retreat,
 Signing a period to my pilgrimage.
 From nipping frosts and penetrating blasts,

Cold snows, black thaws, and misty killing dews

I'll lead thee to the ever-flaming furnace 215

That, like a fever fed by opposite meats,

Engenders and consumes itself with heat.

I'll pierce the air as with a thunder bolt

And make thy passage free. Make speed away,

Thy broken contract now thou go'st to pay. 220

[Exit GHOST.]

[ANNE] leaving bed.

Anne. Oh help! Succour! Help! Wives, cousins, midwives!

Good Angels guard me! I go, but cannot tell

Whether my journey be to Heaven or hell.

[Exit ANNE.]

Ursula. I have slept this hour. How d'ye cousin? Ha! Cousin?

Hear! Ay, me! Where? Alas! Nowhere! Ay me! She's 225

gone! She's gone!

Prattle. Heigh-ho! What's the matter, Mistress Ursula?

Ursula. Alas! My cousin! She's gone! She's gone!

Magpie. Marry! Jove forbid!

Longtongue. I did not like her dream. 230

Barren. Nor I, I promise you.

Prattle. Dispatch every one several ways! Some to th'fields!
Some to th'waterside! 'Las! 'Tis but a fit, 'twill
be over presently. Away! Away, severally!

Exeunt [women.]

Enter **BOOTE.**

Boote. What means this noise? How comes my door's open 235
at this time o'th' night? I hope my daughter's well?

Ursula. Oh, sir, she is ...

Boote. Not dead I hope?

Ursula. I know not that neither, but, while we,
After long watching, took a little rest 240
She's stolen out of her bed and fled away.
The door's quite open and the infant here.

Boote. Heaven bless her! I am struck dead with grief.
 She has been subject to distempered passions;
 Jove grant she works no harm upon herself. 245
 Methinks she should not, for the infant's sake.
 Poor babe, it smiles; it lacks no mother yet
 Till it miss the breast. She cannot be far
 But they may find her out. There's a great snow
 Fallen this night and by her footsteps they may 250
 Easily trace her, where she is.

Enter women, bringing ANNE.

Ursula. Oh misery!
 Behold the saddest spectacle of woe
 That ever mortal eyes took notice of.

Prattle. We traced her through the snow, step by step, 255
 Until we came unto the riverside
 Where, like a cunning hare, she had intended
 To cozen her pursuers, and cozened her self;
 For drowned we found her on the riverside
 Nigh Colwick ferry. 260

Boote. Oh, my poor girl!

[Exeunt women, carrying ANNE]

Enter [OLD] BATEMAN with his picture.

[Old] Bateman.

Oh, my poor boy!

Boote.

How happy had I been if she had lived.

Old Bateman.

How happy had I been if he had lived.

Boote.

Who's that which echoes me, playing the wanton

with my miseries?

265

Old Bateman.

I come to see how sorrow does become thee.

Dost thou remember that?

Boote.

What mak'st thou here? Is there no other rack

To work my miseries higher but thy self?

And art thou come for that? Oh, my poor girl!

270

Old Bateman.

Monster, behold my poor boy's picture!

Thou wouldst not shed a tear nor lend a sigh -

Poor emblem of a penitential heart -

When in these arms I hugged my dead boy's corpse.

Now, monster, who is't will weep or sigh for thine?

275

Boote.

Monster, thou troubl'st me!

Old Bateman.

Murderer, I will!

See what the fruits of wealth have brought thee now:

An everlasting scandal to thy name,

A conscience full of horror and black deeds.

Nature's external superfluities, 280

Her white and red earth, rubbish, dross and ore

Which she but lent thee to keep marts withal

Thou hast converted to most gross abuses.

Thou wouldst not else have scorned my poor boy's love

To match with wealthy Jermane. See thy fruits, 285

Thy bases and foundations now are sunk

And look, there lies the ruins of thy works.

Boote.

Oh misery! My heart strings crack with grief

Yet will not burst. Oh say, hast thou yet done?

Old Bateman.

No, I will make thee sensible of thy ills: 290

First, thou art causer of thy daughter's death

For thou enforced her to the breach of faith;

Next, my son's ruin whom, parricide-like,

Thou laughed at in his fatal tragedy.

Who, but a villain that abjures all laws, 295

That breaks all precepts, both of heaven's and man's

And nature's too, could have done this? Should I,
 Like one that dares affront divinity,
 Laugh at thy daughter's fall?

Boote.

Hast thou done yet?

I do beseech thee for this infant's sake 300
 Which sets a smiling brow on miseries
 And even, by instinct, prays thee to forgive,
 Commiserate my woes. It grieves me now
 I did deride thy miseries. Be but content
 I'll weep till thou shalt say 'It is enough', 305
 So that we may be friends.

Old Bateman.

I cannot choose

But bear a burden in calamities.
 Our angers have, like tapers, spent themselves
 And only lighted others and not us.
 Striving like great men for supremacy 310
 We have confounded one another's goodness.
 Come, we will be friends! I'll dig a solemn cell
 Which shall be hung with sables round about
 Where we will sit and write the tragedy
 Of our poor children. I'll ha' it so set down 315
 As not one eye that views it but shall weep,
 Nor any ear but sadly shall relent,

For never was a story of more ruth
Than this of him and her, yet nought but truth.

Exit omnes.

ACT 5

Act 5 Scene 1

Enter ARGYLL, CLIFTON, MONLUC, MARTIGUES, D'OYSEL,

BALL, JOSEPH, MILES, [ROUGE CROIX]. Soldiers *[seen] on the walls.*

Clifton. After the hand of war has razed your walls
 Affrightening peace from your ivory beds
 And, like the reaper with his angry sickle
 Leaves the earth full of sores and wounds
 Yet after, plasters her with her own crop, 5
 So come we, after war's bloody turmoils,
 To bring you peace which, had you sued before,
 Thousands that now lie bowelled in the earth
 Had lived to memory what we have done.
 Set ope your gates and with spread arms embrace her 10
 For which, as follows, ye have articulated.

Monluc. Which we, Monluc, Bishop of Valence,
 La Brosse, Amiens, joint Commissioners
 For the most Christian king and queen,
 Francis and Mary of France and Scotland, 15

Have confirmed.

Martigues, D Oysel. Which we, as duty binds, must obey.

Clifton. The Articles thus follow: the most mighty princess,
Elizabeth, by the grace of God, of England, France and
Ireland, queen, defender of the faith, etc. and the most 20
Christian king, Francis, and [queen,] Mary, by the same grace
King and Queen of France and Scotland, have borne
record upon a reconciliation of peace and amity to be
inviolably kept between them, their subjects, kingdoms
and confines; and therefore in their names it is 25
straitly commanded to all manner of persons born
under their obeisances or being in their services, to
lay by all hostility either by sea or land, and to keep
good peace, either with other, from this time forwards
as they will answer thereto at their utmost perils. Long 30
live Elizabeth, Francis, and Mary!

Omnes. Long live Elizabeth, [Francis, and Mary]!

Martigues. We much desire to hear the Articles
On which this peace stands, fully ratified.

Clifton. They are thirteen in number. 35

The principal, and of most effect, are these:
 That the French soldiers and all men of war
 Leave the realm of Scotland in twenty days,
 Six score soldiers only are excepted,
 Three score of them to remain at Inchkeith 40
 And three score at the Castle of Dunbar,
 Their wages to be paid from the estates
 Of Scotland, and to live lawful subjects
 To the laws and ordinances of that realm;
 All fortifications in or about Leith 45
 Which by the French were built, shall be defaced;
 That France convey not any man of war
 Nor ammunition into this land
 Without a free consent in Parliament
 Of the three estates of these great kingdoms. 50
 That Francis and Mary, King and Queen of France
 From henceforth bear not the arms of England
 Which solely appertain to our dread mistress,
 The Queen of England, and to no other.
 These, as you hope for peace, you must observe. 55

Martigues.

We subjects are the hands, kings are the heads,
 And what the head commands, the hands must act.
 Our barricaded portals shall fly ope
 And yield entrance. If warlike Clifton please,

As we have fought together, so we'll feast; 60

Such viands as a razed town can yield

You shall receive. Noble Sir Francis Leake

Hath in this manner proclaimed this peace

On the north side, whom we will 'gratulate.

Which terms of honour will it please you enter? 65

Clifton.

By my halidom, we accept your offer!

Lay by your arms! Still after 'ffays come feasts

To which we soldiers are the welcomest guests.

Unbrace our drums; instead of war's alarms

We'll meet, like constant lovers, arm in arms! 70

Exeunt omnes nisi ROUGE CROIX and BALL.

Enter JOSHUA, reeling, with jacks.

Ball.

See, Joshua is entered. One cup of brisk

Orleance makes him i'th' temper he was when

he leaped into the Leen.

Rouge Croix.

Will he be drunk?

Ball.

Most swine-like and then, by the virtue of his good 75

liquor, he's able to convert any Brownistical sister!

Rouge Croix.

An excellent quality!

Ball

Nay! In that mood, you shall have him instead of
presenting Pyramus and Thisbe, personate Cato
Censorius and his three sons. Only in one thing
he's out, one of Cato's sons hanged himself - and
that he refers to a dumb show.

80

Rouge Croix.

Methinks he should hang himself for the jest's sake!

Ball.

As he did his cat for killing a mouse on Sunday! See,
he has topped the cannikin already. Now will he sing
treason familiarly. Being sober, ask him why he
did it? In sincerity it was not he, it was his drink.

85

Joshua.

As it is in the painted cloth, in sincerity, good liquor
quicken the spirit.

When from the wars I do return

90

And at a cup of good ale mourn

I'll tell how towns without fire we did bum

And is not that a wonder?

Ball. That's more than the painted cloth!

Joshua. I'll tell how that my general 95
Entered the breach and scaled the wall
And made the foremost battery of all,
And is not that a wonder?

Rouge Croix. Admirable!

Joshua. How that we went to take a fort 100
And took it too in warlike sort,
I'll swear that a lie is a true report,
And is not that a wonder?

Rouge Croix. There's wonder in that, Jo!

[Joshua.] How that we soldiers had true pay 105
And clothe and victuals every day
And never a captain ran away,
And is not that a wonder?

Ball. Nay, and but six days to th' week.

Joshua. Is there any man here desires to edify? I am in the 110

humour of converting: I was converted in my drink
and so are most of my brethren! I'll stand while I
am able and then will go sleep on it.

Exit JOSHUA.

Ball. He's gone both ways! See, the French lords and
ours enter.

115

Music. Enter Lord GREY, CLIFTON, ARGYLL, attendants,
[English and French lords], MONLUC, MARTIGUES, D'OYSEL.

All embrace.

Monluc. On honourable terms we now embrace.

Grey. If what we articulated be full performed.

Clifton. They are, my Lord, in each particular,
And the French ready to depart the town.

By my halidom! They have feasted us

120

Not like to foes, but friends. 'Tis my wonder

That a besieged town could yield such cates

In such extremities and exigents:

Full forty several messes, yet not one

Either of fish or flesh; only one dish,

125

Which was the daintiest - a powdered horse -
That I took notice of.

Grey. Large stomachs and empty sallet dishes
Are the Frenchman's viands; his banquetings
Cloys not the stomach but gives satiety 130
A fresh appetite, that makes the body
Active and full of generous fires.
Full dishes are like potions unto them,
I know not whether nicety or want.

Clifton. By my halidom! Want? Want? 135
Give me the English chine and that feeds men
And they that feed well certainly will fight
Unless some wolf or maw-worm be internal.

Argyll. I relish your opinion.

Grey. Lords of France, you may depart at pleasure! 140

French Lord. Prosperity and peace ever 'twixt France and England!

English Lord. Amen, saith England! When France forgets her pride
England will honour her.

Grey.

Come, my co-mates in war,
Our soldiers instantly shall march for Berwick, 145
The Duke of Norfolk waits their arrival:
Sir Francis Leake shall give them safe conduct.
You Argyll, Clifton, and myself
With expedition are for Nottingham
To meet our peerless princess Elizabeth 150
Who, in her progress, there will lay her court.
Argyll shall there receive the hostages
Due to the federary lords of Scotland.
We'll turn war's clangours into musics sweet
And like new vested pairs, in wedlock meet. 155

Exeunt omnes.

Act 5 Scene 2

Enter MILES, BALL.

Ball. What if it were a puppet play?

Miles. Absurd! Absurd! They'll be out in turning up
the white of the eyes; besides there's none of
us can speak i'th' nose.

Ball. Yes! Joshua! 5

Miles. Most abominable! Wouldst thou have a Puritan
speak to a play? A puppet play! Thou oughtst
to be burned for thy heretical conceit! Why, thou
poisoned sowter, wouldst thou have a Puritan
speak to a play? Still, give me the hobby-horse! 10

Ball. But who shall play the hobby-horse? Master Mayor?

Miles. I hope I look as like a hobby-horse as Master Mayor!
I have not lived to these years but a man would think
I should be old enough and wise enough to play the
hobby-horse as well as ever a mayor on 'em all! 15

Ball. Not so choleric, Miles!

Miles. Let the mayor play the hobby-horse among his
brethren and he will. I hope our town lads
cannot want a hobby-horse. Have I practised my
reins, my careerers, my prancers, my ambles, my 20
false trots, my smooth ambles and Canterbury
paces, and shall Master Mayor put me beside the
hobby-horse?

Ball Thou wilt not understand me, Miles!

Miles. I am an ass if I do not. Have I borrowed the four 25
horsebells, his plumes and braveries? Nay, had
his mane new-shorn and frizzled? And shall the
mayor put me beside the hobby-horse? Let him
hobby-horse at home, and he will!

Ball. Thou art impatient. 30

Miles. Would it not make a man impatient? Am I not going
to buy ribbons and toys of sweet Ursula for the Marian,
and shall not I play the hobby-horse?

Ball. Why then, let the mayor speak the Oration.

Miles. Disgraceful! Am not I able to make a narration to 35
 the prince? I have played a mayor in my time with as
 good 'dacity as e'er a hobby-horse on 'em all. And the
 mayor will prompt me. Let him! He shall find I'll
 stand out like a man of Coventry!

Ball What shall Joshua do? 40

Miles. Not know of it, by any means! He'll keep more stir
 with the hobby-horse than he did with the pipers at
 Tutbury bull-running. Provide thou for the dragon,
 and leave me for a hobby-horse.

Ball. Fear not! I'll be a fiery dragon. 45

Enter URSULA.

Miles. And I a thund'ring St. George as ever rode on
 horseback. But see! Yonder's sweet Ursula!
 More white than soot and blacker than white snow.

Ursula. [Aside] Yonder's my antagonist, 'a haunts me like a ghost.
 'Cause I used to make him the prologue to be merry 50
 he, forsooth, conceits 'tis love. Sir-reverence!

(Within) “ *Why, Ursula? Niece Ursula?* ”

That’s my uncle’s call! If I stay a little he’ll fetch
me in which, if he does, I may perchance harp upon
a conceit to beat this parboiled gentleman’s love
out of my mealy miller’s coat. 55

Miles. Sings: You dainty dames so finely decked
In beauties to behold
And you that trip it up and down
Like lambs in Cupid’s fold,
Not far from Nottingham, of late, 60
In Clifton, as I hear,
There dwelt a fair and comely dame
For beauty without peer.

Ursula. How now, Master Miles? Singing?

Miles. Ay, Mistress Ursula! A very merry lamentable 65
doleful new ditty of young Bateman and his
Nan. That ever [a] poor young gentleman should die
like a bird on a tree, for the love to a woman. For
here it is in the third staff:

Her hair was like the crisped gold, 70

Oft times you may perceive
 The fairest face, the falsest heart
 And soonest will deceive.

Mistress Ursula, I give you this as a caution to
 remember Bateman and his sweet, your cousin. 75
 Look on me and view yourself. Were it not pity I
 should hang myself for love and that you should
 die none knows how?

(Within) 'Why, Ursula? Niece Ursula? '

Ursula. Alas, what shall we do? If my uncle comes he'll take
 thee for a ghost, his brain is so fraught with 80
 distempers, and then falls he raging mad.

Miles. Will he not strike?

(Within) 'Why, Ursula? Niece Ursula? '

Ursula. Sometimes he will, so after your fit is over, I'll
 prescribe a remedy against love.

Enter BOOTE, in his shirt.

Boote. Passion on passion! Am I grown old and odious in 85
your eyes? What, no attendance, mistress?

Ursula. Oh, Looooord, sir!

Boote. What ails thee, woman? What's the matter? Ha!
WTiy dost thou quake, shake, tremble and shiver? Ha!

Ursula. [Pointing to Miles] Oh, there! There! There! 90

Boote. Be'st thou the devil, I will talk with thee!

Miles. [Aside] Ha, Ha! No fool to th'old one! He takes me for a ghost!

Boote. Art thou of air, of earth, heaven or hell
Or art thou of some incubus's breed?
Are there more walking Batemans? Answer me 95
Or I will beat thy carcass into a form
That is full substantial and has feeling!
Seeing, hearing, smelling and sweet-tasting ghost
I'll thunder thee!

Miles. Oh, ho! Master Boote! Master Boote! 100

Boote. Ay? Can the devil feel, or is he sensible of beating?
What art thou? Hast thou feeling?

Miles. Ay, and hearing and seeing too! An' you'll let me
alone, I'll tell you what I am.

Boote. Ghost! I'll consign thee! 105

Miles. 'Las, sir: I'm no ghost! I am plain honest Miles the
miller of Ruddington; a gentleman and a soldier.

Boote. And, 'Miles the miller of Ruddington, gentleman and
Soldier', what make you here?

Miles. Alas, sir: to borrow a few ribbons, bracelets, ear-rings, 110
wire ties, and silk girdles and handkerchers for a Morris
and a show before the Queen.

Boote. Miles, you came to steal my niece!

Miles. Oh, Lord, sir! I came to furnish the hobby-horse.

Boote. Get into your hobby-horse, gallop, and be gone then, 115
or I'll Morris-dance you - Mistress, wait you on me!

Exit [BOOTE.]

Ursula. Farewell good hobby-horse! Wheee!

Exit [URSULA.]

Miles. 'Tis but a jade's trick, Mistress Ursula; but patience,
the enemy to greatness, is my content and in that
humour, I will forage on, like the hobby-horse. 120

[Exit.]

Act 5 Scene 3

Enter QUEEN, lords, attendants; MAYOR, aldermen, attendants.

Queen.

Master Mayor!

We thank you for your entertainment

And for your princely present, a cup of gold.

In gratefulness we back return the keys

With all the emblems of your government.

We, in our progress, are a sojourner

Not an inhabitant; we will be so with you.

A welcome fuller of bounty, virtue, love,

We have not seen. Therefore to 'gratulate

As a small token of our princely love,

On to your former motion made for Trent;

You'd have it navigable to Gainsborough,

So to Boston, Kingston on Hull, and Humber.

But what are the causes?

Mayor.

By St Lucy, Bess! I am a plain, honest tanner; my

brothers here - one a shoemaker, t'other a

fellmonger - we are all down right to th' hide! I ha' no

lawyer's eloquence, our recorder cannot whistle but,

by the bones of sweet St Lucy, welcome, oh welcome!

Queen. I have tasted your welcome, and would fain
grant your design, so you give reason.

Mayor. By St Lucy and shall, else I'm an ass and my brethren
dotterels! Give reason, brother sheepskin, second me, for
I must speak historiography. History, I should say, but
these hard words cloy my stomach like lumps of bacon.

Queen. Y'are a merry man, Master Mayor!

Mayor. I were a traitor else I would not be merry with thee,
Bess. Still, welcome and welcome!

Queen. On to your Charter!

Mayor. Thus it was:
Edward the First, from whom we bear our arms
(Three crowns displayed in an azure field)
First 'gan to make our river navigable.
Small barks it bore, but not of that full weight
That were transportable for our affairs;
In the two Edwards, the Second and Third
Unto the second Richard it continued,
Till Bolingbroke began, then Harry the Fifth
And Percy fell at odds; in which division

Dividing of the land Glendower began
 To stop the water-courses of flowing Trent. 40
 By that means our navigable course was stopped
 And where, before, we usually transported
 With things un-numerous from Hull to us
 And in return, relieved the neighbour coast
 With fuel and commodities of great use 45
 As wool, lead, com, fruits, and iron,
 We now have neither, but with double cost.
 This is the cause why we entreat your Grace
 To sign our patent and, by St Lucy, Bess,
 We'll pray for thee, and that's thy full reward! 50

Queen. You shall enjoy your wishes!

Enter GREY, CLIFTON, ARGYLL.

Omnes. Long live Elizabeth!

Queen. We thank you!
 Welcome, renowned John of Wilton
 And you, the warlike heroes of his train.
 Warlike Clifton, fame has been before thee 55
 And with her shrill trump sent your praises home
 Ere your arrival. Rise, noble John of Wilton,

The only champion of Elizabeth!

Grey.

Peace and prosperity guard your sacred throne
 And make your foes submissive like the French. 60
 Leith is surrendered, the French quite expelled;
 The Scotch inhabiting their native bounds
 (Whom we have found most loyal to your Grace)
 And therefore they require their hostages
 Due to the federary Scottish lords. 65

Queen.

And they shall have them. Welcome, bold Argyll!
 Thank thou the God of Battles that has given
 Prosperity to our first enterprise -
 Being the first battle that we ever waged -
 Linked victory unto a virgin's arm, 70
 For which we render thee all attributes.
 Guarded by thee, and these our loving subjects,
 We fear no Spanish force, nor Frenchmen's braves.
 Let Austria brag, and Rome and Italy
 Send out their poisoned darts. Dreadless we stand, 75
 Protected by thy never-failing power.
 Lord Grey, return you Governor of Berwick;
 The Duke of Norfolk, for some special causes
 We must recall; Argyll shall have his pledges,
 We but reserved them to preserve our selves. 80

Clifton, be thou our Deputy Lieutenant
And Lord Warden of Nottingham Castle;
Our self will be Lieutenant of the County.
For Howard, Pelham, Leeke, and all the rest
That in this victory shared with dangers,
They shall participate our princely loves.

Omnes. Heavens bless your Majesty!

Queen. I know not how to dignify your deeds
Without a large premeditation.
Grey and Clifton, Clifton and warlike Grey
Fought for our father, brother, and sister
At Denis, Rouen, Boulogne and at Calais.
The bloody sweat that Musselburgh bred
At Edinburgh, and now again at Leith,
In all which we fortunately conquered,
Thanks unto heaven next your valiant hands.

Clifton. Your Majesty begets a spring of youth
In me, an old decayed tree of age,
Worn with as many snowy winters' storms
As makes the brawny oak grow sapless,
Leafless, withered, time's period is ruin.
Yet, by my life, my heart retains its vigour

And what we want in deeds we'll act in duty
To you, the sovereign mistress of our hearts.

Queen. Master Mayor, and noble John of Wilton, 105
And warlike Clifton, with all your men of war:
We this night do invite you for our guests
To sup with us. Tomorrow we'll survey
The underminings and unpaced griease
That Mortimer and Isabel did devise 110
To steal their sportive dalliances in,
Of whom your stately fortress does retain
The labyrinth (now called Mortimer's Hole).
Heaven for our victory we first will pay
And praise our subjects that redeemed the day. 115
Proud France and poisoning Spain: if heaven us bless,
A virgin's arm shall quell your mightiness!

Omnes. Long life attend your Majesty!

Exeunt omnes.

COMMENTARY

Title page

Obstipui... haesit. On the title page of *The Vow Breaker* the Aeneid reference is given as ‘2.77 Obstupui, steterantque Comae, & vox fausibus haesit’. This line reference would appear to be incorrect as line 77 of Book 2 reads: ‘Cuncta equidem tibi, rex, fuerit quodcumque, fatebor uera, inquit’. I have, however, found ‘obstipui, steteruntque comae et vox faucibus haesit’ in Book 2 line 774 (and also in Book 3 line 48), where it refers to Aeneas’s reaction to ghostly experiences.¹ This meaning would also appear to be relevant to *The Vow Breaker*, ‘I felt my blood / congealed with fear; my hair with horror stood’.²

In *The Vow Breaker*, this line refers to Anne’s horror when she is confronted by Bateman’s Ghost and this would suggest that the compositor had misread Sampson’s writing. It is most unlikely that the line had been inserted during the printing of the play as it refers to incidents in *The Vow Breaker* with which the compositor would have been unfamiliar unless he had read the play carefully. The 1636 edition reads ‘Virg: Asn:lib:2.77 / Obftupui, fteterantque Comae, & vox faufibus haefit’. In the present modern edition this has been amended to read: Virgil: Aen: lib: 2.774 / Obstipui, steteruntque comae, et vox faucibus haesit.’

The illustration

¹ I am indebted to Dr Emily Gowers, Faculty of Classics, Cambridge University.

² Sowerby R. ed. *Dryden’s Aeneid: a selection with commentary*. Bristol: Bristol Classical, 1986. p. 90, lines 764/5.

I-10

Sampson's synopsis of his play. [In a similar manner,
Shakespeare briefly summarises his play before it begins.

cf.R&J:

Chorus: Two households, both alike in dignity,
... / From ancient grudge break to new mutiny,

Where civil blood makes civil hands unclean.

From forth the fatal loins of these two foes

A pair of star-cross'd lovers take their life:

Whose misadventur'd piteous overthrows

Do with their death bury their parents' strife.

The fearful passage of their death-marked love,

And the continuance of their parents' rage,

Which, but their children's end, nought could remove

(Prologue)].

II-16 The moral is ...

Sampson makes quite clear what he believes
is necessary for wedded bliss.

17 precedent

A model or example, intended or worthy to be followed
(OED 4a).

Dedication and Epistle

2 Anne Willoughby (1614-1688) was under twenty-one years old

when the play was written. Her older sister died in the 1630s and so Anne would then have been the eldest surviving unmarried daughter. (Sampson was already in Willoughby's employment by 1628.)

infant emerging play.

air-lover One who enjoys the atmosphere,

hospitable fabric A congenial and welcoming household,

censurers those who blame, condemn (OED 3).

Momes carping critics (OED n3) (Momus - god of censure).

calumny malicious misrepresentation (OED 1).

unblanched lawn fine linen (OED n11); i.e. pure, unspoilt lady.

vestal pure, chaste (Vesta - virgin goddess) (OED 2).

comply agree, conform (OED 4b).

Pliny Gaius Plinius Secundus (AD 23-C.79) Greek philosopher and naturalist.

- 16/7 almond tree In *The History of Nature* (17.64), Pliny refers to the planting of almonds, believing that they fall naturally in a vertical position, sharp point deepest in the ground.³
- 20 Envy One of the seven ‘deadly’ sins named by Pope Gregory the Great, [envy, wrath, sloth, pride, lust, gluttony, greed].
- 22 Astraea ‘The just virgin of the golden age’, seen as being symbolic for Elizabeth.⁴ It may be that this reference to the queen is in preparation for her appearance in Act 5.
- 25 hatchments armorial shields - signs of distinction or achievement, placed and carried before a coffin or placed against the wall of a dead person (OED).
- 25 portment bearing of arms (OED 1).
- 26 principal column important support (OED 1c).
- 30 Hymen Greek god of marriage and weddings (OED 1). (cf.

³ Pliny the Elder. *The Natural History*, ed. John Bostock. London: Taylor and Francis, 1855. (17.11).
 Shipp, G.P. ‘Carina’, *Classical Philology*. 39,2 (Apr 1944): 115-117.
 Yates, Frances Amelia. *Astraea*. Abingdon, Oxford: Taylor & Francis, 1999. p. 78.

Hymen's Holiday, or, Cupid's Fagaries, by Samuel

Rowley, mentioned in a list of plays that belonged to the Cockpit in 1639.⁵)

- | | | |
|----|------------------|--|
| 32 | families | households (OED I.1a). |
| 33 | faithful servant | There is written evidence that Sampson was employed by Willoughby in 1628 and also in 1653 and although it may be presumed that this service was continuous, there is no mention of the total length of employment or of his status. |

Prologue to Censurers

- | | | |
|----|--------------|---|
| 9 | critic | one who passes judgement, a censorer (OED 1). |
| 11 | magistracy | dignity, position (OED 3). |
| 12 | ninety years | This may be a printer's error for a manuscript 'seventy', but it seems a strange mistake - the play was probably written about 70 years after the conflict, possibly late 1620s early 1630s, i.e. after <i>Herod and Antipater</i> with Markham c.1622. and before its publication in 1636. |

⁵Bullen, Arthur Henry, *A Collection of Old English Plays*, 4 vols. London: Wyman & Sons, 1882-1885. v. 1.

- 21 tailor's shreds pieces of cloth cut off in the process of cutting out clothes
and discarded, but often salvaged by the tailor for his own
use (OED 3).
- 22 afford to procure, yield up (OED 1).
- 26 the vices discreetly referred to in the play.

Characters in the Play

Lord GREY of Wilton: William, 13th baron (1508/9-1562), Warden of the East and Middle Marches of England; held in high esteem by Elizabeth although his military career was a mixture of fortune and failure: one of the assaults on Leith in 1560, allegedly led by Grey, was impracticable and failed due to the English ladders being too short (DNB).

Sir Gervase CLIFTON: (1515-1588), loyal servant of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth; knighted 1538, Justice of the Peace, Sheriff of Nottinghamshire 1540, 1546, 1554, 1572; courteous and of mild disposition, allegedly described by Queen Elizabeth as 'Gervase the Gentle' (DNB).

ROUGE CROIX: one of England's four pursuivants, state messengers (OED 2). In the English College of Arms there are three Kings of Arms, six Heralds, and four

Pursuivants, styled respectively: Rouge Croix, Bluemantle, Rouge Dragon and Portcullis.

ARGYLL, Archibald Campbell: 5th earl (1538-1573), Protestant, with a deep enduring commitment to the Reformation; a close association with Ireland; through his marriage to a natural daughter of James V he was brother-in-law to the catholic Mary, Queen of Scots and, as one of her three principal advisers, ensured the continuation of protestant and Anglophile policies (DNB).

Count of MARTIGUES: Sebastien of Luxembourg, Duke of Penthièvre.

General D'OYSEL: Henri Cleutin, Seigneur of Oysel and of Villeparisis; adviser to Mary Guise, Regent Queen of Scotland. (Previously French Ambassador to Henry VIII).

Monseigneur Jean de MONLUC: Bishop of Valence and Bishop of Die (c. 1502-1577); his concise and detailed chronicles of the life of a military officer in 16th century France have yet to be proved factually inaccurate.

6 Gould, Kevin. 'The 'Commentaires de Blaise de Monluc' in the Historiography of the French Wars of Religion', *Renaissance Journal*. 2,4 (June 2005): 22-30.

ACT 1

Act 1 Scene 1

| | | |
|-----|--------------------|--|
| 2 | affected | beloved (OED 2c). |
| 3 | inestimable | above all in value; priceless (OED 1b). |
| 3 | censure | judgement, criticism (OED 3). |
| 5 | entranced | enchanted; mesmerised (OED 2). |
| 7 | hinds | peasants (OED n2.2). [cf. 2H6. Suffolk: 'Tis like the commons, rude unpolish'd hinds (3.2.271]. |
| 8-9 | kiss ... departure | Otiose brackets in Sampson's text, probably a printer's addition. Not a stage direction, as Wallrath considers. ⁿ |
| 10 | privity | intimacy (OED 3,4). |
| 11 | heralds | messengers (OED 2a). |
| 16 | gimmals | jointed parts (OED 2). |

⁷Wallrath Hans. *William Sampson's 'The Vow Breaker'* (Notes to Li.8 ff. "Die Zeilen sind wahrscheinlich so zu lesen: [The lines are probably to be read thus:] With this formality disciplines them / (Kisse.) at the departure. Wo 'Kisse' ein Bühnenanweisung ist" [where 'kiss' is a stage direction]).

| | | |
|------|--------------------|---|
| 22 | bitter-sweetings | Experiences of sweetness or pleasure, alloyed with bitterness (OED Bn.1). |
| 26 | greatness | (here) parental power. |
| 27 | violated | violently broken (OED 1). |
| 28-9 | Leith ... Mistress | Young Bateman is going to Scotland in 1560 to fight for Queen Elizabeth and the Scots, against the French in possession of Leith under the Regent Queen, Mary of Guise. |
| 30 | conned | studied (OED v 1.1). |
| 34 | Prithee | I pray thee. |
| 37 | quick | alive (OED B.1b). |
| 40 | Book of Fate | Reference to hypothetical book (OED 4c). It was believed by Catholics that Fate was a fixed decree, those things that were destined or ordained, would happen. |
| 46 | castaway | reject, outcast (OED B). |
| 48 | re-salute | i.e. again pay homage to. |

| | | |
|----|-------------------|---|
| 50 | enjoy | possess, in love (OED 4b). |
| 53 | St Mary's | St Mary's Church, Clifton, Nottingham. |
| 53 | stays | waits; attends (OED 9). |
| 54 | whines | Cants, speaks in an affected sing-song manner (OED v3.II.9). |
| 54 | for | because (OED VII.21). |
| 55 | official scholars | Those responsible for saying or singing the religious services. |
| 56 | angel | Large value old English gold coin bearing picture of archangel Michael slaying the dragon (OED II.6); value in Edward VI's reign 10s, last coined in Charles I's. |
| 58 | venial toys | unimportant, trivial faults (OED A.2a). |
| 61 | Cupid's manacles | The god of love's shackles, bonds (OED), i.e. Miles is determined in his pursuit of Ursula. |
| 62 | i'th' vein | in the mood (OED III. 14c). |

- 64 knights o'th' post Men who get their living by giving false evidence (OED)
(originally: men who have been flogged at the whipping post).
- 66-7 Shall I? ... hold Reminiscent of the Christian marriage ceremony: 'Wilt thou ... To have and to hold.....
- 70 Dunmow Dating back to 1104, a flitch (side) of bacon is awarded to married couples from anywhere in the world if they can satisfy the judge and jury of six maidens and six bachelors that in 'a twelvemonth and a day' they have 'not wisht themselves unmarried again'.⁸
- 72 lapwings Birds of the plover family that run away from their nests to deceive intruders; the young bird flies from its shell with part of it still sticking to its head, and therefore symbolises a precocious youngster, one who appears scarcely hatched. ⁹ [cf. Ham Horatio (talking to Hamlet about Osric): This lapwing runs away with the shell on his head. (5.2.193)].
- 73 scopperils small spinning tops (OED 1).

⁸ Andrews, William. *History of Dunmow Flitch of Bacon Custom*. London: William Tegg & Co., 1877.
d. 10

⁹ Brewer.

- 75 virginals'jack [virginals: small spinet-like instrument (OED n 11a);
 jack: part of the virginal that causes the key to be plucked
 (OED n 11H.14)] ;
 here, virgin's jack = boy (bawdy pun) (OED n*2a). [cf.
 1630 PEKKER *2nd Pt. Honest Wh.* Hiv, No, for she's like
 a paire of Virginals, Alwaies with Iackes at her taile.]
- 76 true time strict time (musical metaphor) (OED 56).
- 82 beggary poverty (OED 1).
- 83 phoenix A person of distinction (OED 2a); also the name given by
 17th century women writers to Queen Elizabeth, believing
 that her memory 'could be reawakened to empower her
 sex¹⁰
- 84 malapert impudent, presumptuous (OED 2).
- 85 miscreant villain, rascal (OED B2).
- 85 dissembler hypocrite, deceiver (OED).
- 87 enstated [instated] endowed (OED 2).

¹⁰ Hageman, Elizabeth H. and Katherine Conway, eds. *Resurrecting Elizabeth I in Seventeenth-Century England*. (Lisa Gim. 'Representing the "Phoenix Queen"' p. 169.) Madison N.J.: FDU Press, 2007.

| | | |
|-----|--------------|--|
| 88 | counterfeit | impostor, pretender (OED C2). |
| 89 | cock | cockerel (OED I.1a). |
| 90 | new-rowelled | sharpened [rowel: the small sharp wheel at the end of a horseman's spur (OED I.1a); spur: a cock's claw, sharpened before a cock-fight]. |
| 92 | gadding | wandering without purpose OED v2). |
| 97 | worldlings | Those devoted to the pleasures of the world (OED 1). |
| 106 | motion | desire, inclination OED II. 12a). |
| 107 | intercourse | To allow them to communicate, to be alone together. |
| 109 | assurance | guarantee (OED 1a); (legal evidence of conveyance of land, title). |
| 115 | bangled | frittered away (OED v2). |
| 116 | portion | marriage dowry (OED Id). |
| 118 | Hang thee! | strong expression of anger (OED v.3d). |

| | | |
|-----|---------------|--|
| 120 | Come! | Come on! (ready for fisticuffs), |
| 126 | temperate | mild (OED 1a), |
| 129 | kind | gender, nature (OED 3a). |
| 138 | Sir Gervase | Sir Gervase Clifton. |
| 139 | furnish | supply with everything necessary (OED 4a). |
| 141 | Jermane | Wealthy, elderly suitor promoted by Old Boote. [His name was also spelt variously in the early ballads as German and Germane.] |
| 145 | chines | pigs [as in chines (i.e. 'joints'), being the whole or part of the backbone of an animal especially pig, (OED n ^y 2b).] |
| 147 | Barbary horse | Horse from the north coast of Africa (OED II.4b) prized for its strength and endurance, a popular breed with the Elizabethans. |
| 147 | jennet | Small, well proportioned horse, common in Spain (OED 1). [lines 146-8, cf. Oth. Iago to Brabantio: |

... you'll have your daughter covered with a Barbary
horse; you'll have coursers for cousins and gennets for
germans i.e. closely related (1.1.111-114)].

- 149 the devil... love i.e. love counts for almost nothing.
- 152 nap surface texture of a fabric, the pile (OED n2.2a).
- 157 sauce expense (i.e. quality) (OED 3c).
- 157 kibed heels chilblains [cf. Lear: Fool (to Lear):
If a man's brains were in's heels, were't not in danger of
kibes? (1.5.8-9)].
- 158 halidom holy thing, a holy relic; 'by my halidom' used in sixteen
century oaths (OED 3b).
- 160 victual provisions, food and drink (OED 1).
- 164 halfit The text's 'huffit' is puzzling, this would seem to be a
reasonable interpretation.
- 165 brabbling noisy quarrelling (OED 1b).

| | | |
|-----|-----------------|---|
| 167 | knave | lad (OED 2). |
| 168 | fillips | thumb flicks, something of small importance (OED). |
| 173 | this knave | i.e. Bateman. |
| 187 | huffish | arrogant (OED a). ('Huffits' in the text may refer to a person; although this name is not unknown in the county, there is no other reference to it in the play and as the description for Joshua concerns his character, 'huffish' may be more appropriate for Ball than 'Huffit's'.) |
| 187 | knave in grain | a knave through and through, a complete knave. ll |
| 189 | painter-stainer | A person whose business is painting and staining (OED 1). |
| 191 | bend-leather | thick, strong leather used for soles (OED 4b), i.e. firmly determined. |
| 193 | limner | illuminator of manuscripts, or painter (especially of portraits or miniatures) (OED). |
| 194 | fructify | reproduce, be fruitful (OED 2). |

- 195 inutile of no use (OED).
- 196 press compel, enlist into military service (OED v2.1a)
- 197 edify instruct, improve in a moral sense, sometimes ironical
(OED 3b).
- 198 sistren ME. pi. o f 'sister' (OED 1.1.b) [cf. brethren]. Possibly a
reference to Joshua's Puritan faith (OED 1.3.b).
- 198 commiserate to feel, or express compassion (OED 1).
- 201 a fig for expression of contempt (OED n2).
- 201 St Denis patron saint of France.
- 201 sd *Exeunt omnes Miles exceptus* all leave except Miles.
- 205 blue Coventry blue thread using a superior dye, once made in Coventry,
(OED 4), (hence the expression 'true as Coventry blue'),
(cf. *Barnabees Journal*
- Thence to Coventre, where 'tis said-a
- Coventry blew is only made-a

206 old song this ballad appears in the Pepys Collection (with the
refrain ‘Phyllida flouts me’)

She has a cloth of mine,

Wrought with blue Coventry,

Which she keeps as a sign

Of my fidelity... 13

206 clout piece of cloth, i.e. handkerchief (OED II.5b).

208 Jove (Jupiter) highest deity of the ancient Romans (OED 1A).

208 Desiring ... fortunes i.e. to protect you from a higher bom, more wealthy
and important man than me.

210 dotes is infatuated with (OED 1.3).

218 a piece of gold This may refer to a modest joint-ring or gimmel (OED 1).
The ring, in two parts, would be worn by a couple as a
visible symbol of an engagement contract, with legal
implications beyond the vows of love; on marriage the
parts would be worn together to form a wedding ring.

p. 57. [The Preface to the Second Edition dated 1716, states that the Journal was ‘wittily and merrily’ composed ‘tho’ near one hundred years ago’.]
BChappell, William. *A Collection of Ancient Songs, Ballads and Dance Tunes*. London: Chappell & Co., 1893. (Roxburghe Collection, iii, 59.)

220 jugal relating to a yoke, especially matrimonial yoke or bond;
 conjugal (OED).

232 burnish i.e. conduct oneself with glory.

Act 1 Scene 2

3 mart trade; buying and selling [cf. Ham. Marcellus is
 describing Denmark's war preparations, including the
 4foreign mart for implements of war' (1.1.74)].

3 blows acts of hostility, combat, fighting (OED 3).

3 batteries Number of pieces of artillery placed close to each other,
 ready for combined action (OED II.4a).

5 Queen Ocean i.e. the sea.

6 Dunbar Grey means the skirmish at Linteme Brigges (East Linton,
 east of Dunbar).

7 hostages Given and held in pledge or security to enemies or allies
 for the fulfilment of an undertaking (OED 2).

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| federary | (federate) allied. |
| bead-roll | a list of persons to be prayed for (OED 1). |
| Archibald Campbell | In his <i>Chronicles</i> (p. 1187), Holinshed lists ‘Archebald Campbell lord of Loughenner [i.e. Lochynnell/Lochnell], whereas Sampson states ‘Archibald Dowglasse. This appears to be a mistake on Sampson’s part (perhaps he misread the <i>Chronicles</i> and omitted some words). |
| Articles | i.e. Articles of Separation, each of the points of agreement. |
| Herald at Arms | Rouge Croix: royal messenger, ambassador, whose duties in battle included conveying messages from one princely commander to his opponent. |
| red Braies | sandstone hills near Edinburgh. |
| glaived | glaive: a weapon consisting of a blade fastened to a long handle, a kind of halbert (OED 2). |
| bum-dagger | large-bladed short or hip dagger (OED 4). |
| ravening | rapacious, greedy (OED 1). |

- 43 white-coats White was a favourite colour of English troops; it is known that in 1557-8 Yorkshire men were sent to the Scottish borders wearing white coats.¹⁴ [qv. Thomas Heywood *If you know not me, you know no bodie* (C2): Winchester to Elizabeth:
 ... And for your guard, a hundred Northern whitcotes, Are appointed to conduct you thither,...]¹⁵
 In 1644 Newcastle's border regiment, the Whitecoats or Lambs, wore undyed white coats but their use at an earlier date is uncertain. It would seem to be unlikely, therefore, that Sampson had these 'white coats' in mind when he wrote the play, although he would have been familiar with them through Newcastle's strong connection with Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire.
- 49 bulwark rampart (OED 1)
- 51 Pelham Sir William Pelham (c. 1530-1587) captain of artillery; (DNB); his 'mount' is one of two large mounds near Edinburgh on which guns were erected to bombard Leith.

¹⁴Allison, K. J. (ed). 'The sixteenth century Political affairs after 1542'. *A History of the County of York East Riding: Volume 6*. Victoria County History. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1989. p. 74.

¹⁵Heywood, Thomas. *If you know not me, You know no bodie, or the troubles of Queen Elizabeth* London: Printed for Nathaniel Butler, 1605. C2.

- 60 Article Treaty (subsequently the Articles of Peace 1560 agreed between Scotland and England, although Mary never actually signed them).
- 65 Howard Sir George (before 1523-1580), soldier and courtier; brother to Queen Katharine Howard; master of armoury; General of men-at-arms and demilances (DNB).
- 66 Croft, Sir James (c. 1518-1590), lord deputy of Ireland; second in command to Lord Grey with the English army sent to besiege Leith - he advised against the assault and was blamed for the army's disorderly conduct. He was dismissed from office and it was ten years before he was returned to favour (DNB).
- 66 Grey Sir Arthur (1536-1593) soldier; elder son of William Grey; took 200 demilances to Leith under his father, wounded during the fighting (DNB).
- 72 French flies small territorial red damselflies (OED 4). 16 (i.e. attractive lure.)
- 76 resolve explain clearly (OED III. 11c).

| | | |
|-----|---------------|--|
| 91 | whore | Joshua, being a Puritan, is referring to the whore of Babylon; in Biblical sense applied to a corrupt or idolatrous community, controversially a reference to the Church of Rome (OED 2). |
| 91 | friar | Joshua's reference may be intended for Roger Bacon, a British Franciscan friar who was, reputedly, the inventor of a black powder in 1265, believed to be gunpowder, (but which is now known to be of Chinese origin). |
| 92 | dragon | early firearm (OED 10a). |
| 96 | translator | One who changes, transforms, or alters (OED 2a). |
| 101 | corslets | Foot-soldiers armed with breastplates (OED 1b), |
| 107 | resolved | determined (OED 1); decided. |
| 115 | circumvention | Act of scheming, outwitting (OED). |
| 116 | jugglers | deceivers (OED 3). |
| 117 | merchandise | i.e. way to carry on business (I.1a) |

- 119 painted cloth Tapestry, cloth or hanging, painted to give the impression of stitches (OED).
- 119 The nine worthies Historical figures chosen in the fourteenth century as archetypes of chivalry (OED Cn.lc). In three groups: pagan worthies - classical figures of Hector of Troy, Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar; Jewish worthies mentioned in the Old Testament - Joshua, David, Judas Maccabeus; and more contemporary Christian worthies - King Arthur, Charlemagne, Godfrey of Bouillon. Sampson wrote 'Joshua, Hector, Caesar, Arthur, Charlemagne, Judas, Machabeus, and Godfrey Bollogine'.
- 124 scutcheon escutcheon, the shield on which a coat of arms is depicted (OED 1a).
- 127 facing With a show of defiance (OED2a) [as well as turning in another direction].
- 128 Crag Salisbury Crag, Edinburgh, 800 ft cliffs.
- 128 Chapel St Anthony's Chapel, on Arthur's Seat, Edinburgh; cannon were put on its tower.
- 132 Alarm signal to begin fighting (OED 3).

Act 1 Scene 3

- 3 Colours battle flags, banners (OED 7a)
- 4 with ... town D'Oysel and Martigues retreated to the safety of Leith
where French troops were holding the town.
- 8 Poitiers ... Chalons French Counts.
- 9 La Brosse Jacques, French Ambassador.
- 16 Anabaptist A member of a religious sect founded in Switzerland in
1521 during a period when the Roman Catholic Church
was believed by many to have become corrupt. The group
were Christians who regarded the Bible as their only rule
for faith and life and were called 'Anabaptist' because of
their rejection of infant baptism. Any deviation from the
established churches was considered a crime of treason
and because of their radical beliefs Anabaptists were
persecuted even unto death by other Protestants as well as
by Roman Catholics.¹⁷

¹⁷Estep, William R. *The Anabaptist Story, An Introduction to Sixteenth-Century Anabaptists*. 3rd edn. Michigan: Eerdmans Publishing Co. 1996. p. 29. [For another of the free church traditions, Puritanism, see 5.2.6-8, pp. 368-9.]

Act 1 Scene 4

- 6 Welshman's crest leek, the national emblem of Wales [Shakespeare, too, demonstrates the pride of Welshmen in their emblem, cf. H5, (4.7.103-9): Fluellen (to King)
 ... the Welshmen did good service in a garden where leeks did grow, wearing leeks in their Monmouth caps, which your majesty know to this hour is an honourable badge of the service; and I do believe your majesty takes no scorn to wear the leek upon Saint Tavy's day.
- 22 wrests manipulates, distorts (OED 5).
- 24 cousin Although in the sixteenth century 'cousin' (coz or cuz) could refer to any relation or even a close friend (OED 1), as Ursula refers to Old Boote as her uncle (4.3.58) and he calls her niece (3.1.140), it may be confidently assumed that Anne and Ursula are cousins in the modern sense.
- 32 black father i.e. the devil.
- 33 moly Fabulous herb with magic powers, said to be a kind of mandrake or garlic (OED 1). According to Homer, it was the mythical herb given by Hermes to Ulysses as an

antidote against the sorceries of Circe.

- 36 make ... black Turn his white hair youthful again.
- 51 Aeson Father of Jason; after recovery of the golden fleece
 Jason's wife, Medea, used magic to rejuvenate the old and
 infirm Aeson.¹⁸
- 52 elixate act as an elixir (OED2b), a remedy for disease.
- 63-5 'twould ... post Ballads were advertised for sale and notices, pamphlets,
 etc. were pinned up on a post for public reading, [cf.
 AYL. Where Orlando pins up his notes of love for
 Rosalind, for all to read:
 O Rosalind! these trees shall be my books
 And in their barks my thoughts I'll character,
 That every eye, which in this forest looks,
 Shall see thy virtue witness'd everywhere. (3.2.5-8)].
- 65 'The Inconstant Lover' I agree with A.E.H. Swaen that there appears to be no
 ballad with this specific title or sung to this tune.¹⁹
 However, there is evidence that several ballads were
 entered into collections under this general heading

¹⁸Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book 7. Lines 251-285.

¹⁹Swaen A. E. H. 'Notes on ballads and tunes in W. Sampson's Vow-breaker', *Neophilologus*, 3, 1 (Dec 1918), 151.

(unknown dates) and *An Inconstant Female* (1627) is in the Pepys Collection, in which we learn that ‘False-hearted fickle Maides / Are better lost then found.’²⁰ As the ballads had already been published before Sampson wrote his play, this comment of Ursula’s would appear to be ironic.

71 foreman o’th’ parish i.e. leader, front runner; i.e. the best man for Anne.

72 buck ... head The male of the fallow deer in its fifth year.²¹ It is likely, however, that Ursula had an insulting suggestion in mind: *The 1811 Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* gives the meaning as one who in debauchery surpasses the rest of his companions, adding that a buck sometimes signifies a cuckold.²²

73 My lovely Jermane !/ My fairest mistress! This greeting echoes that of Anne and Bateman at the beginning of 1.1.

74 muff A cylindrical shape, usually made of fur, in which to keep the hands warm (OED 1a).

²⁰ Belden, H. M. *Ballads and Songs: Collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society*. Columbia: University of Missouri studies, 1940, Reprinted 1955.473-6; Brown, F. C. *Collection of North Carolina Folklore*. Durham, N. C. Duke University Press, 1952. III.248; Anon. *An Inconstant Female*, c.1627, Pepys 1.370; ²¹ first year buck = fawn; second pricket; third sorrel; fourth soar; fifth buck of first head; sixth buck great head. *A Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*, (1889), 11th edition. London: Johnson Reprint, 1970.

²² Grose, Francis. *The 1811 Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*. London: Senate, 1994.

- 76 anchoress female anchorite, hermit, religious recluse (OED).
- 78-9 woman is a weathercock proverb: a woman's mind changes often.²³ [cf. Field's play *A Woman is a Weathercock*.]²⁴
- 90 jointure Estate in lands/tenement, settled on a woman in consideration of marriage; hers after her husband dies (OED 4).
- 102 unstained lamps stars (OED 2).
- 105 one bag i.e. of gold, dowry.
- 109 pip fit of depression (OED n 13).

²³ Apperson, George L. *Wordsworth Dictionary of Proverbs*. Ware: Wordsworth, c.2003.

²⁴ Field, Nathaniel. *A Woman is a Weathercock*, 'Five Old Plays, forming a supplement to the collections of Dodsley and others', ed. J. P. Collier. London: W. Pickering, 1833.

ACT 2

Act 2 Scene 1

- 1 omit this take no action (OED 1a).
- 2 healthing toasting (OED 2).
- 6 bona-robas courtesans (OED). [cf. 2H4: Justice Shallow (boasting of his nickname 'lusty' to Silence): ... and, I may say to you, we knew where the bona robas were, and had the best of them all at commandment. (3.2.26-7)].
- 6 virago Female with the physique and mind of a man (OED 2a).
- 7 Nine ... squeak Men dressed as women, with high voices.
- 10 nine months' siege joke about pregnancy.
- 12 encaul i.e. cover (the hair).
- 13 leRoy sovereign, i.e. King Francis, of France and Scotland.
[cf. H5:

Pistol ... What is thy name?

King Harry le Roy.

Pistol Le Roy?

A Cornish name: art thou of Cornish crew?

King No, I am a Welshman. (4.1.48-52)].

15 close hide (OED 1.6).

23 An' if (OED II. 13a).

30 footings trails, tracks (OED 2).

31 fitchew polecat; (here) as term of contempt, i.e. prostitute (OED lb), [cf. Lear: Lear (to Gloucester, on immorality)
The fitchew nor the soiled horse goes to't
With a more riotous appetite. (4.6.125-6)].

33 by fortune came a fox This line appears to come directly from Turbeville.

Ofa Foxe that woulde eate no Grapes:

By fortune came a fore, (=fox)

where grue a loftie vine,

I will no Grapes, (quoth hee),

this yarde is none of mine:

The fore would none bicaufe that hee

Perceiued the highnefle of the Tree.

So men that forlie are (=foxiie)
 and long their lull to have
 But cannot come thereby,
 make wife they would not craue:
 Thofe fubtill Marchants will no Wine
 Bicaufe they cannot reach the Vine.

- 34 will no To have no desire for (OED B1c).
- 41 academe (Academy), place of training (OED 4).
- 46 shadows illusions, unreal images (OED 6a). [Aesop fable: dog with
 meat, looks at his reflection in river, barks at the dog with,
 apparently, larger piece of meat, and loses his own. Also:
 cf. Luc, (suggesting that she is hallucinating about
 Tarquin):
 She dares not look; yet, winking, there appears
 Quick-shifting antics, ugly in her eyes:
 Such shadows are the weak brain's forgeries; (458-61)].
- 47 conster (construe) understand (OED 1a).
- 61 multure dish for measuring or collecting the multure (fee for grinding
 grain at a mill) (OED II.3).

62 miller's thumb The distinguishing feature of a skilful miller whose left thumb became curiously flattened by constantly using the thumb and fingers of this hand in order to gauge by touch the fineness of meal and the quality of grain.²⁶

65 nutmegs and ginger In the 16th and 17th centuries these were very valuable spices.

66 bawbees Scottish coins of base silver (OED).

68 *Hero and Leander* Greek romantic myth used extensively in literature. Marlowe's poem, with completion by George Chapman, was repeatedly printed 1598-1637. The 'new' *Hero and Leander* appears to refer to a 'mock' poem by James Smith, printed in 1651, but probably dated from the early or mid-1630s.²⁷ (*Leander* ends a song to *Hero* with the couplet

Oh Hero, Hero, pity me,

With a Dildo, Dildo, Dildo dee. [p. 3]).

69 dildo ... dillory A nonsense (bawdy) refrain used in ballads; dildo = artificial penis (OED a).

²⁶ Information from Ollerton Watermill, Notts.

²⁷ Raylor, Timothy. *Cavaliers, Clubs, and Literary Culture: Sir John Mennes, James Smith, and the Order of the Fancy*. Newark: University of Delaware Presses, c.1994. p. 136. Also: Booth, Roy. 'Hero's Afterlife: "Hero and Leander" and "lewd unmannerly verse" in the late Seventeenth Century'. *EMLS* 12.3 (Jan 2007), 4.1-24).

70 bells of St Mary's St Mary's, Clifton (a pun on 'belles').

72 in morning ... grave Sampson has borrowed 'A Poelie' from Thomas

Howell's *The Arbor of Amitie*,

In morning hill when thou doft rife,

fee that in minde thou haue:

To fpende the day which doth enfue,

As bed fhould be thy graue.²⁸

75 Spritchall, the cobbler Although Prichall was not an uncommon name at that
time, I have not been able to locate any in

Nottinghamshire, although Rowley had used it in his play

When You See Me, You Know Me:

s.d. *Enter the Constable and Watch: Prichall the*

Cobler being one bearing a Lant-horne. (D2V);

1 Watch:... set on good-man Sprichall. (E).²⁹

76 Nottingham bridge Trent Bridge, one of the most important river crossings at
the time.

77 a coal A piece of coal, given for luck.

²⁸ Howell, Thomas. *The Arbor of Amitie, wherein is comprifed pleafant Poems and pretie Poefies*. London: Henry Denham, 1568. p. 40v.

²⁹ Rowl[e]y, Samuel. *When You See Me, You know me, Or the famous Chronicle Hiftorie of king Henrie the Eight*. London: Nathaniell Butter, 1613.

80 Now . . . appearance Martigues and D'Oysel have dressed themselves as
 Scottish women in order to confuse the English soldiers
 and so infiltrate their ranks. It would appear from their
 manner of speech that Martigues is dressed and behaves
 as a 'loose' woman whereas D'Oysel conducts 'herself in
 a courtly manner. The conversations between the
 'women' and the English soldiers are liberally scattered
 with *doubles entendres* and lewd repartee (to line 113). It
 is likely that although Sampson used the Scottish
 vocabulary for effect, he probably had only heard it
 spoken, and may not have fully understood it.

82 An' ... man i.e. if you were brought up as a god-fearing man.³⁰

84 weaker vessels Expression said of wives compared with husbands (OED
 4c). [cf. 'Likewise, ye husbands, dwell with them
 according to knowledge, giving honour unto the wife, as
 unto the weaker vessel, and as being heirs together of the
 grace of life; that your prayers be not hindered.' (1 Peter
 3.7.)]

³⁰ Scottish vocabulary has been interpreted and spellings standardised, using *Chamber's Scots Dictionary* (1911). Edinburgh: Chambers, reprinted 1959; and the *Scots Dialect Dictionary*, new edition. New Lanark, Waverley, 2006.

- 85 meek and gentle Joshua begins his acquaintance of the 'women' with good intentions and advice to his fellow soldiers, [cf. Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth (Matt. 5.5)].
- 86-7 thyself... mind An appropriate recommendation from the Puritan Joshua, similar to a saying attributed John Calvin (1509-64): 'The torture of a bad conscience is the hell of a living soul'.
- 88 A pretty boot hauling! i.e. What seductive women! What a catch!
- 88 pages Usually, boys or youths (OED n1) but, as Ball has referred to them as 'bonny belles' and Miles himself has already been tempted and wants the 'prickers' to be examined, he may be extending 'pages' to mean 'young people'.
- 89 prickers Although OED 1a gives 'spurred horsemen', as 'women' are being referred to perhaps the bawdy talk suggests that they are 'teasers' (OED 2a).
- 92 edify instruct, improve (i.e. towards the conversion) (OED 3b).
- 93 Family of Love A dissident religious community founded on the continent (c.1540) and known in England as the Familists. (OED

1.7). [qv. Middleton's *The Familie of Love* (1608) in which the sect is satirised and shown to be hypocritical:

Dryfat (to Mistress Purge):

Yes, I do love to stand to any thing I do, though I lose by it; in truth, I deal but too truly for this world. You shall hear how far I am entered in the right way already ..

(3.2.36-42)].³¹

94 An ... lurdan By my bones, I'm (just) a poor slut (OED Ab). The 'Scottish' has been interpreted in context, but Rowley suggests a different meaning: *A Shoemaker, A Gentleman*, Cicely (to Bameby): A fever, lurdan, have you not? You lazy knave, you!³² (3.2.41)].

96 dele and crag dale and hill.

96-7 I's... lurdan cf. line 94, but in this context: I'm a lord's wife, going to find my good-for-nothing, (lurdan = term of abuse or reproach implying dullness or idleness (OED A).

98 M[ARTIGUES] Sampson refers only to 'M' but as the speech is in 'Scots' it is more likely to be spoken by Martigues to D'Oysel than by Miles.

³¹ [Middleton, Thomas]. *The Familie of Love*. London: John Helmes, 1608.

³² Rowley, William. *A Shoemaker, A Gentleman*, (1638), London: Nick Hem, 2002.

[‘lurdan’ glossed here as rascal, vagabond.]

| | | |
|-----|----------------|--|
| 100 | wame | womb (OED, DSL). |
| 100 | haggergath | (haggerdash) in utter confusion, disorder (DSL) |
| 101 | the wicked | i.e. prostitutes (Joshua is still assuming that Martigues is an 'easy' woman). |
| 104 | An' ... bones! | If the Lord is with you, [yes] with all my bare bones! |
| 119 | trulls | trollops, prostitutes (OED 1). |
| 126 | dastard | contemptible, cowardly (OED B). |
| 131 | Queen | The dowager queen, Mary of Guise. |

Act 2 Scene 2

| | | |
|---|-------------|---|
| 3 | misogynists | A very early use in <i>The Vow Breaker</i> , earliest 1620 (OED). |
| 4 | froward | perverse, wilful (OED A1). [cf. Joseph Swetman published a pamphlet in 1615 accusing women of being |

Tewd, idle, forward and unconstant', with the belief that women's aim was to 'wantonly procure man's fall'.³³]

- 7 sublunary Existing between the orbit of the moon and the earth; hence, subject to the moon's influence. (OED.1) Believed to be the boundary of the area affected by every sin.
- 8 painted sepulchres i.e. hypocrites whose outward appearance conceals inward corruption (OED 1b).
- 8 braveries Things of beauty exhibiting ostentatious pretence (OED 3).
- 9 ciphers i.e. worthless people, (cipher = arithmetical symbol that of itself has no worth or importance (OED 1a).
- 9 supply support, add substance (OED v 1.3b).
- 10 render give in return (OED 2).
- 14 mooncalves Those who are fickle, unstable (OED 2).

³³ Swetnam, Joseph. *The Arraignement of Lewd, Idle, Froward and Unconstant Women, or, The vanity of them; chuse you wheter. With a commendation of the wise, vertuous, and honest women. Pleasant for married-men, profitable for youngmen, and hurtfull to none.* (1615), London, Richard Cotes, 1645. ch. 1. (B).

| | | |
|----|--------------------------|---|
| 25 | lenity | lightness of touch, gentleness (OED). |
| 31 | but | yet, nevertheless (OED 24). |
| 38 | planet-struck | afflicted (OED). |
| 43 | young fry ... trenchmore | Young persons amusing themselves at a boisterous and lively dance, (OED). The fishing imagery could suggest courtship rituals at the wedding feast. |
| 60 | presages | forebodings (OED 1b). |
| 63 | cordial | Aromatic beverage, increases strength and raises the spirits when weak and depressed (OED 2); sweet and spiced, given to the sick (OED 1). |
| 67 | bespew | invoke a curse on (OED 3). |
| 68 | cock-broths | Broth made by boiling a cockerel (OED). (This is one of many sexual comments or innuendoes by Ursula.) |
| 71 | entranced | as if in a trance (OED 2). |
| 78 | sullied | soiled, polluted (OED). |

| | | |
|-----|----------------|--|
| 85 | indict | to charge (with a crime) (OED v\l). |
| 90 | strange | unfamiliar (OED 10a). |
| 90 | nicety | reserve, diffidence (OED 3). |
| 102 | speed | i.e. move on, make better progress. |
| 111 | vent | expressed with emotion (OED 4a). |
| 116 | presaging | insightful, prophetic (OED 2). |
| 119 | grandam | grandmother (OED); (first grandam = Eve.) |
| 121 | imp | child, offspring (OED 3). |
| 126 | I must... thee | cf. the 'promise' made in Luc. Harmless Lucretia, marking what he tells With trembling fear, as fowl hear falcon's bells. 'Lucrece' quoth he, 'this night I must enjoy thee: If thou deny, then force must work my way (ll. 510-13). |
| 151 | swelling | i.e. feeling strong emotion [similarly, qv. Tit. Aaron (to Lucius): Some devil whisper curses in mine ear, And prompt me, that my tongue may utter forth |

The venomous malice of my swelling heart! (5.3.10-13)].

stained disgraced, dishonoured (OED 1).

prune sexually excited, lustful (OED III.6).

goats and monkeys Animals considered promiscuous, [cf. Oth. Iago,
suggesting adultery by Desdemona and Cassio: Were they
as prime as goats, as hot as monkeys ... (3.3.403)].

adulterate debased; adulterous (OED).

never ... ill The theme of deadly revenge that illustrates the vicious
nature of the gods.

goes to ghost i.e. night is nearly over and there is already a hint of
dawn.

Niobe Queen of Thebes, who boasted of her fourteen children to
the goddess Leto who only had twins. The twins killed
Niobe's children and she turned to stone as she wept.

inundations floods (of tears) (OED 2).

geld castrate (OED 2).

180-3 I have ... i'faith bawdy humour.

197-8 nimble-chaps ... Magpie! Boote is using this expression as an oath, angry to find that Anne has been visited by 'a certain man'. All the words have association with food, tongues, or speech (nimble-chaps = talkative person (OED)). 'Mrs Magpie' is one of the chattering women who will later attend Anne's childbed.

206 Me ... wind! 'proves' is retained: agreement is relaxed in seventeenth-century England, cf. Macb. Doctor (referring to Lady Macbeth): You see, her eyes are open.
Gentlewoman: Ay, but their sense is shut. (5.1.27-28)].

Act 2 Scene 3

15 helm helmet (OED 1.1).

18 Thou ... Martigues All the 1636 texts of the play say 'Doysells' but it is clear from line 19, that Clifton is talking to Martigues.

31 capital punishable by death (OED 2b), i.e. of utmost importance.

32 necessity constraint, inevitability (OED 1)

34 scaling ladders Ladders were erected against the walls 'and what by reason of the unfitness of the ladders, being short by two yards and more, the assailants [English] were repelled' (Holinshedp. 1192).

37 I ... noble i.e. I shall give an account of your honourable ruling.

Act 2 Scene 4

6 meagrest having little flesh (OED).

7 unpaunched i.e. empty.

8 overture opening up (OED 1).

9 maw stomach [cf. R&J:
Romeo (as he opens Juliet's tomb)
Thou detestable maw, thou womb of death,
Gorg'd with the dearest morsel of the earth,
Thus I enforce thy rotten jaws to open. (5.3.45-8)].

11 fly evade, flee (OED 9).

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------|--|
| 11 | like to | resembling (OED A1). |
| 14 | poor ... lowest | A reference to the temptation of Eve by the serpent in the garden of Eden. |
| 15 | participate thy ebon dart | share in death's 'sting', [c.f. VA. Love's golden arrow at him should have fled And not Death's ebon dart, to strike him dead (947-8)]. |
| 16 | partial | prejudiced, biased (OED B1). |
| 19 | tyrannously | cruelly, oppressively (OED). |
| 20 | unpenned | unfenced. |
| 21 | shady cells | hidden, sheltered humble dwellings. |
| 23-4 | the world's monarch | i.e. Alexander III of Macedon (Alexander the Great 356-323 BC), who changed the nature of the ancient world single-handedly in just over a decade. He was thought to have died of recurrent malaria or poison that caused high fevers. |
| 25 | consume | waste away, perish (OED v 1.6). |

- 28 disdain'st despised, showed contempt for (OED 1).
- 29 cozen cheat, deceive (OED 1,2).
- 34 a-topping (coarse slang) being topped, copulating, (echoed in 1.35,
 'I'll climb as high as she); (also) hanging by execution
 (OED 1g). [cf. Bateman's death by hanging and his
 father's attachment to a 'likeness', to a similar situation in
 Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*:
 Hieronimo With soonest speed I hasted to the noise,
 Where hanging on a tree I found my son (4.4.110-11)
 Hieronimo ... wipe thine eyes
 Whiles wretched I in thy mishaps may see
 The lively portrait of my dying self
 [He draweth out a bloody napkin] (3.13.83-6)].³⁴
- 38 sable weeds black (OED 3a) mourning garments.
- 45 propense inclined (OED 1c).
- 46 distemperature disturbance of mind (OED 3).
- 51 trilling flowing in small streams (OED v2.1).

³⁴ Kyd, Thomas. *The Spanish Tragedy* (1592). Menston: Scolar Press, 1968.

| | | |
|------|-----------------|---|
| 56 | house | i.e. Boote's house. |
| 59 | gummy boughs | Boughs full of the resin that forms in the bark of many trees, including plum. |
| 62 | sullen | gloomy, mournful (OED 1a). |
| 62 | reaves | ravages, tears apart (OED 2). |
| 65 | slimy cisterns | eye-sockets [cistern - OED 5b]. |
| 70 | thunderer | God of thunder (OED 1a). (Greek: Jove, Roman: Jupiter). |
| 76 | scathefires | destructive fires (OED). |
| 78 | map | i.e. an image, the face of Bateman's dead son (OED II.5b). [cf. 2H6. Henry, about Gloucester: ... in thy face I see / The map of honour, truth, and loyalty (3.1.202-3)]. |
| 82-3 | Cursed ... this | cf. Bateman's pain with Isabella's in <i>The Spanish Tragedy</i> : I will not leaue a root, a stalke, a tree, A bowe, a branch, a blossome, nor a leafe, |

No, not an hearb within this garden Plot.

Accursed complot of my miserie,

Fruitlesse for euer may this garden be. (4.2.8-12)

abortive unnatural, fruitless (OED 2).

crocodile i.e. suggesting insincere tears, [cf. Oth. Othello (to Lodovico, about Desdemona):
If that the Earth could teem with woman's tears,
Each drop she falls would prove a crocodile. (4.1.258-9)].

decree fixed by God (OED 3). (The theory of predestination, as particularly believed by Calvinists.)

And ... ode It is said that the swan is mute except while dying.

becomings i.e. happenings.

surfeited He (i.e. Death) has taken his fill, fed to satiety (OED 3b).

piece person (OED 9a), i.e. Bateman,

balm soothingly anoint (OED 2).

Charon In Greek mythology, the ferryman of the dead (who will

take the soul of Young Bateman across the Styx)

(OED 1). This image suggests the river in which Anne will drown.

109 assign consign, send (OED 7).

109 waftage conveyance (over the Styx) (OED 2b).

118 unperceant i.e. unpierceable, impenetrable.

118 caus'ress female causer (OED), i.e. of Bateman's problems.

122 scales i.e. scales of justice (OED 3b).

128-133 I will not... oft There are similarities here with Cornelia's misery after Marcello's death in *The White Devil*, and her decision not to take revenge for his murder.

136 plummets Balls or lumps of lead to weigh things down; used figuratively (OED 4b).

137 obsequies funeral rites (OED 9).

138 throstle song thrush (OED 1).

140 For ... notes Although the nightingale's song is actually outstandingly rich, loud and musical , according to myth she was the tragic Philomel (OED), princess of Athens, whose melancholic song is described in Sir Philip Sidney's *The Nightingale* (1598)³⁷: The nightingale ...

Sings out her woes,...

And mournfully bewailing,

Her throat in tunes expresseth

What grief her breast oppreseth (1-7)].

144 griefs of lower kinds This may be a hint that Ursula is referring to her cousin's pregnancy.

150 forbear refrain from (OED 5).

150 passionating The act of feeling passion, expressing great emotion (OED).

152-3 That's ... dreams i.e. nightmares.

157 Dick-a-Tuesday devil's imp; Will o' the wisp (OED n l).

161 dotards weak old men (OED A. 1a) (i.e. Old Bateman).

³⁶ Fitter, R.S.R. and R.A. Richardson. *Collins Pocket Guide to British Birds*. London: Collins, 1957. p.46.

Ferguson, M. et al, eds. *The Norton Anthology of Poetry*. New York: Norton, 1970. p. 191.

ACT 3

Act 3 Scene 1

| | | |
|----|--------------|--|
| 8 | leafy | i.e. ornamental leaf-shaped hinges. |
| 12 | sentinel | guard (OED 2). [cf. Sutcliffe: No souldier appointed to stand sentinell, shall depart from the place, or sleepe in the place, vpon paine of death. ³⁸] |
| 14 | horse-leech | veterinary surgeon (leech: cure) (OED 1). |
| 18 | hill of clay | burial mound. |
| 23 | flux | stream, flow (OED). |
| 23 | brinish | salty, bitter. |
| 28 | false | disloyal, unfaithful, [cf. Oth. Othello (to Desdemona) Heaven truly knows that thou art false as hell. (4.2.38-9)]. |
| 29 | descant | comment freely. |

³⁸ Sutcliffe, Matthew. *The Practice, Proceedings and Lawes of Armes*. (21) 228. London: Deputies of Christopher Baker, 1593.

| | | |
|-------|------------------|--|
| 31 | resemblance | likeness (OED 2a). |
| 32 | Ay ... point | cf. Hamlet's 'Ay, there's the rub ...' fHam. 3.1.65)]. |
| 41 | conceit | imagination, fanciful thinking (OED). |
| 46 | afffrightments | fears; feelings of being frightened. |
| 47 | rid | ridden, oppressed, but with a sexual connotation here. |
| 50 | point | aim, purpose. |
| 61 | through | twist (through: throw). |
| 61 | perceant | piercing, penetrating (OED). |
| 65 | Phlegethon | Mythical River of Fire, separating the living and the dead (OED). |
| 66-71 | I have ... dwell | This passage appears to echo that of the ghost of Hamlet's father: I am thy father's spirit, Doomed for a certain term to walk the night, And for the day confined to fast in fires, Till the foul crimes done in my days of nature |

Are burnt and purged away. (1.5.9-13).

Erebus The name for ‘a place of darkness, between Earth and Hades’ (OED); God of Darkness, son of Chaos (i.e. gloomy mist will obscure the bright daylight).

Rhadamant’ . . . Aeacus (Rhadamanthus) Judges of the dead, renowned for justice on earth (OED). [cf. Kyd *The Spanish Tragedy*: Hieronimo: Go back, my son, complain to Aecus; For here’s no justice; gentle boy, be gone, For justice is exiled from the earth: Hieronimo will bear thee company. Thy mother cries on righteous *Rhadamanth* For just revenge against the murderers. (3.13.137-42)].

vermilion A bright-red colour (OED 6B).

Apennines A series of mountain ranges that form the physical backbone of peninsular Italy, 1000 km in length.

steepy precipitous, difficult to ascend (OED 1b).

effigies likenesses, images (OED 1).

147 Do you not see it? . . . (to end of scene). This exchange between Anne and

Boote reminds us of that between Hamlet and Gertrude in the closet scene of *Hamlet* (3.4.102-37) where Gertrude cannot see the ghost and thinks that Hamlet is going mad.

blind buzzard worthless, ignorant or stupid person; also used euphemistically, bastard (OED 2).

balm ... bugloss balm: healing, fragrant, or borage and bugloss (a type of borage) are herbs, used as a cordial (OED 1; III.9). Lemon balm (*Melissa Officianlis*) may be drunk as a tisane.

visage face; outward appearance.

as he lived cf. Ham. My father in his habit, as he lived . . . (3.4.134).

faculties alive powers (OED IIia) available.

Turk The Turks were feared because the Ottoman Empire reached the peak of its power in the mid-16th century under the Emperor Suleyman (Suleiman) the Magnificent, and the spread of Islam had grown to include Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Tripoli, Greece, the Balkans, and most of Hungary.

- 133 raven Popularly regarded as a bird of evil omen (OED 1a).
- 134 screech-owls Bam owls, also supposed to be an evil omen (OED 1a).
- 134 augurers Those who foretold future events in accordance with
omens derived from the flight, singing and feeding
of birds (OED 2, auger).
- 141 pleurisy over-abundance (OED 2).
- 143 exigent a state of critical need (OED B).

Act 3 Scene 2

- s.d. *(cat) in a string* tied up.
- 3 heathenish uncivilised; offensive (OED 3).
- 5 cloak cover, outward show (OED 3a).
- 6 (good) colour plausible reason (used figuratively - Joshua is a painter).
- 7-13 Thy ... exhortations Miles and Joshua are engaged in an exchange of coarse,
suggestive chat.

| | |
|------------------|---|
| Macaroons | OED 3 suggests buffoons, or fops, but perhaps there was a mis-reading of the manuscript for maquereaus, meaning pimps (OED); 'Madam Macaroons' could therefore mean bawds or prostitutes. |
| plaster of Paris | Hard white solid, made from gypsum, used for sculptures and casts (but not, as apparently suggested here, to fill faces pock-marked by venereal disease). |
| mealy mouthed | reticent; afraid to speak one's mind (OED 1a). |
| pollutions | spiritual/moral corruptions; ejaculations (sexual) (OED3a, 2). |
| exhortations | (words of) encouragement (OED); stimulations (bawdy), |
| saucy | impudent. |
| catechise | question or interrogate (OED 5), (pun on 'cat'). |
| cat after kind | All living things will behave according to their natural instinct and so the cat's actions will be automatic. |
| forbidden day | An anti-puritan joke at the time was the Puritan who hanged his cat on a Monday for having profaned the |

Sabbath by catching a mouse, [qv. Thomas Master(s)]

(1603-43) *On lute strings cat-eaten*

Puss I will curse thee ...

ThouTt fast each Sabbath in the year,

Or else, prophane, be hang'd on Monday

For butchering a mouse on Sunday ... (13, 19-20)].³⁹

Also, qv. *Barnabees Journal*

In my progresse travelling Northward,

Taking farewell oth' Southward,

To Banbury came I, O prophane one!

Where I saw a Puritane-one,

Hanging of his Cat on Monday,

For killing of a Mouse on Sondag. (p. 17).]⁴⁰

29 enormities irregularities (OED lb).

30 cake of iniquity mass (OED 4b) of injustice.

39 When ... me parody of the main plot.

44 Tibert the Cat A popular name for a cat, Tibby (OED). [qv. Caxton *The History of Reynard the Fox* (1481) in which the king

³⁹ Harleian Ms 6917, BL.

⁴⁰ Braithwait, Richard, (attrib.) *Barnabees Journal*. London: The Penguin Press, 1932. p. 17.

taught Tibalt the cat to catch mice.⁴¹ Also cf. R&J. in which ‘Tybalt’ is described as ‘prince’ and ‘king’ of cats. (2.4.20; 3.1.82)].

53-60 Knowst... day? This is one of many puzzling passages spoken by Joshua, a comic character who uses flamboyant and often incomprehensible language.

56 Abbot Cabbage Applied ironically to the leader of disorderly festivities (OED 3).

57 Amsterdam Used in a derisive manner, probably due to the rivalry between the English and Dutch at the time, but also with religious connotations - in the play there are Familiarists, a hint of Calvinism and a parody of Puritans.

59 Leen River in Nottingham that joins the Trent opposite Wilford parish church (the general location of the ‘Maid of Clifton’ legend and Gervase Clifton’s home). [No reference has been found to any (real or fictitious) misdemeanour of ‘Cratchet’, but it sounds as though his

⁴¹ *The History of Reynard the Fox by Caxton in 1481*, ed. N.F. Blake, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970.

punishment was by a ducking stool into the Leen or,
maybe, the Trent.⁴²]

60 insurrection resistance (OED).

62-3 Did ... high-day? This appears to be a nonsensical question. [Nadab was struck dead for disobedience (Leviticus 10.1-2) but he had nothing to do with pigs - which would have been unlikely, anyway, as he was Jewish.]

65 conventicle assembly, meeting (OED 1).

66 St Ann's To the north of Nottingham is the site of St Ann's Well but, although a chapel was believed to have been built dedicated to St Ann in the late 14th or early 15th centuries, there is no trace either of a chapel or 'a great spring'. According to 17th century records the Mayor of Nottingham with officials, wives and musicians processed annually every Easter Sunday to the spring.⁴³ St Ann reputedly gave birth miraculously to Mary, mother of Jesus ⁴⁴

⁴² Crockett is a familiar name in the county but all spelling variations have proved unsuccessful in the search for some reference. The ducking must have been unusual as generally, but not exclusively, only women were punished in this way.

⁴³ Morrell, R.W. *St Ann's Well and Other Medicinal and Holy Wells of Nottingham*. Nottingham: APRA/NUFOIS, 1987. p. 7.

⁴⁴ Ross, Leslie. *Medieval Art*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996. p. 15.

- 66 fructifying to be fruitful, impregnating (OED 2) (bawdy).
- 68 the elect those who are chosen by God (OED n2a2).
- 68 weakly Grey is suggesting that 'the chosen' are insincere.
- 70 turn ... eye rolling the eye upwards, to suggest affected devotion
(white OED 2).
- 71-2 Thou ... arraigned cf. Ben Jonson, *The Staple of Newes* (1625), in which
dogs are accused without reason,
Fit: We come to baile your dogs.
P.Se: They are not baileable,
They hand committed without baile, or mainprife,*
Your baile cannot be taken. (5.2 [75] p.7).⁴⁵
- 72 arraigned charged (OED 2).
- 72 adjudge sentence (OED 2).
- sd.73 *offers* makes as if to present as sacrifice.
- 77 equity impartiality, fairness (OED 1.1).

⁴⁵ Jonson, Ben. *The Staple of Newes*. London: I.B. for Robert Allot, 1631. * mainprize - a person who stands surety for a prisoner's appearance in court on a specified day (OED 1b).

| | |
|------------------|---|
| 'scaped | escaped [cf. 1H4: Falstaff(to Hal, after the robbery): I have scap'd by miracle. (2.4.186-7)]. |
| Inchkeith | island in the Firth of Forth 6 km (4 m) north of Leith. Mary of Guise, with French support, occupied the island in 1549 and went on to complete the fort, using it as a military base. |
| measure | as in march to the beat (OED n&e). |
| profane surplice | Joshua's aside expresses his low opinion of the Catholic bishop. |
| heir apparent | an incorrect description: although Mary was considered by the French (and herself) to be heir apparent of England, she was already the rightful queen of Scotland. |
| princess | Elizabeth (but who never referred to herself as 'princess', only 'prince'; referred to as 'king' by Grey in 111). |
| legate | ambassador (OED 2). |
| Queen Regent | i.e. Queen Mary's mother, Mary of Guise and Lorraine, widow of James V of Scotland. |

- 111 Cecil William, first Baron Burghley (1520/1-1598), Secretary of State to Elizabeth, bold and visionary in his desire to unite England and Scotland against intruders; persuaded Queen to attack Leith in order to remove French. (DNB).
- 113 convoyed accompanied.
- 114 Queen Queen Mary of Scotland.
- 115 lay by her nicety lay aside (OED 50) her niceness.
- 115 rough filed phrase i.e. to put it bluntly.
- 116 articulate arrange by articles or conditions (OED 9).
- 120 hazard put at risk.

Act 3 Scene 3

- 3 Damick A woven fabric originally made in the Flemish town of Domick (in French called Toumai), used for hangings, carpets, vestments, etc. (OED).

- 5-6 For mine own part Many of the explicitly sexual references throughout the play are made by Ursula.
- 6 incubus man demon, visits women at night.
- 6 succubus woman demon, visits men at night.
- 14 Pygmalion In the 10th book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Pygmalion is a sculptor who is not interested in women but falls passionately in love with his own ivory creation ⁴⁶
- 18 sensible acutely affected (OED 8b).
- 19 When as whereas (OED 2b).
- 20 diamond here, the most precious (OED3).
- 25 hyena Name given to a cruel and treacherous person whose behaviour resembles the hyena's unpleasant habits (OED 2). Old Bateman's form of address may also suggest the unearthly sound made by the hyena (OED 1). [cf. AYL. (Rosalind to Orlando: I will laugh like a hyen, and that when thou art inclined to sleep. (4.1.162-3)]

⁴⁶ Ovid. *Metamorphoses*, (trans. A. Golding 1567), London: Penguin, 2002. X. 267.

- 26 gibe address with scoffs and sneers (OED).
- 39 obdurate obstinate, unyielding (OED 1b).
- 46 atonement reconciliation (OED 2a).
- 51-54 She ... too Bateman is still angry and unable to forgive Anne and come to terms with Young Bateman's death, [cf. R[obert] A[rmin] *The Valiant Welshman*... . Monmouth, on hearing that the Earl of March, with his sons, has arrived to fight him):
Drums, beat aloud. lie not articulate (capitulate)
My soule is drown'd in rage. (1.3.24-25)].⁴⁷
- 64 though nevertheless, in spite of (OED IB. 1).
- 65 uncouth unfamiliar (OED 5
- 67 A ll... time qv. 'To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven.'
- 69 period i.e. end.

⁴⁷ A[rmin], R[obert]. *The Valiant Welshman or The True Chronicle History of the life and valiant deedes of Caradoc the Great, King of Cambria, now called WALES*. London: George Purslowe, 1615.

⁴⁸ Ecclesiastes 3.1.

- 70 withal with (whom) (OED B).
- 71 fancies hallucinations (OED 2). [cf. WT. Paulina to Leontes,
about Hermione's statue: No longer shall you gaze on't,
lest your fancy / May think anon it moves. (5.3.59-61)].
- 80 fondling foolish person (OED 1).
- 85 Ganymede Anne is referring to the most beautiful of all mortal
men, according to Greek mythology, 'Whose face reflects
such pleasure to mine eyes'.⁴⁹
- 86-9 This eye ... chin; also, 98-103 Here's ... son. Anne admires the beauty of
Bateman as she gazes at his portrait; similarly cf. Hamlet
as he extols his father's virtues:
- Look here upon this picture,...
See what a grace was seated on this brow;
Hyperion's curls, the front of Jove himself,
An eye like Mars, to threaten and command.
- (Ham. 3.4.53-64).
- 93 Certes assuredly (OED).

⁴⁹ Marlowe, Christopher. *Dido Queen of Carthage*, 'The Plays of Christopher Marlowe', ed. Roma Gill. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979. (1.1.2).

| | | |
|-----|-------------------|---|
| 100 | Apollo's trammels | All statues of the Greek god Apollo show him with short wavy hair (trammels). |
| 110 | An' | If, on condition that (OED II. 13a). |
| 116 | calumnies | malicious representations of words (OED). |
| 122 | vexed | troubled (OED 1.1). |
| 122 | clemency | leniency, mildness (OED). |
| 123 | distemper | disturb, derange, confuse (OED 3). |
| 124 | time ... maturity | i.e. the time of Anne's confinement. |
| 128 | felicity | delight or pleasure (OED lb). |
| 130 | comfortable | strengthening, sustaining (OED 3). |
| 130 | cordials | Drink or food to invigorate the heart (OED B 1). |

ACT 4

Act 4 Scene 1

- 5 seventh of May The assault on Leith begins. This is comprehensively reported by Holinshed, although there are some discrepancies: ‘by reason of the unfitnessse of the ladders, being too short by two yards and more, the assailants were repelled’ (p.1 192).⁵⁰ Sampson amends this in the continuation of his account of the battle, 4.2.31.
- 9 Captain Randall qv. ‘And upon warning given by capteine Randall sergeant major, such as had beene commanded to give assault in their several appointed places, preased forward with courage inough and boldlie adventured to clime the wals and enter at the breaches’ (p. 1 192).⁵¹
- 15 lance-tiers Rows of horse-soldiers carrying lances (OED 4a).
- 17 Harry Percy (13 March), ‘Sir Henrie Perfie, generall of the light horflemen’ (p. 1 187).⁵²
- 19 hill Brae Giant’s Brae (Mount Somerset) Leith.

⁵⁰ Holinshed, Raphael. *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland*. London: 1807-8.

⁵¹ - ibid -

⁵² - ibid -

20 Sir Francis Leake There is no mention of Leake on the 7th May in Holinshed, but on the 15th, ‘Sir Francis Leake came to the campe with a supplie of fiue hundred men from Barwike’ (p. 1192). Churchyard also mentions Leake, ‘there came S. Frances Leake / To our reliefe’, which may refer to the same incident as that reported by Holinshed or that of La Brosse.⁵³ La Brosse refers to ‘sire francois laik’ on the 12th April as being one of the leaders of 2000 English arriving at Dunglass.⁵⁴

Act 4 Scene 2

7 plays discharges [cannon] (OED 1.8b).

9-12 D’Oysel... proof cf. John. Constance to Duke of Austria:

What a fool art thou,
A ramping fool, to brag, and stamp and swear
Upon my party!...
Thou wear a lion’s hide! Doff it for shame,
And hang a calf’s skin on those recreant (cowardly) limbs.
(3.1.121-3; 128-9).

⁵³ Churchyard, Thomas. *The firste parte of Churchyardes Chippes, contayning twelue severall Labours*. London: Thomas Marshe, 1575. lines 512/3.

⁵⁴ La Brosse, Jacques. *The Journal of the Siege of Leith, 1560*, ‘Two Missions of Jacques de La Brosse’, ed. Gladys Dickinson. Edinburgh, University Press, 1942. p. 115.

Libyan Hercules A celebrated hero of Greek and Roman mythology who was ranked among the gods. He is represented as a man possessed of prodigious strength, whereby he was enabled to perform twelve extraordinary tasks or 'labours' (OED).

Nemean lion As the first labour of Hercules he strangled a lion that was terrorising the village of Nemea, south of Corinth, the skin of which he then wore. [cf. Ham. Hamlet (to Horatio and Marcellus):

My fate cries out,

And makes each petty artery in this body (drop of blood)

As hardy as the Nemean lion's nerve. (1.4.81-3)].

mures walls (OED).

Sutton... Fitton Holinshed reports that on the 7th May:

two hundred, which were slaine outright,... and

amongst other, there were diverse captains and gentlemen

that were hurt, as Sir Thomas Hesketh,

master Sutton, master Newport, master Conweie,

capteine Webb, Thomas Fitton, with others (p. 1192).

canvasadoes sudden attacks (OED).

chafed angered (OED).

- 51 effuse pouring out (OED).
- 56 speak formal discourse, speech (OED 3).
- 65-6 Mary ... Scots Mary of Guise.

Act 4 Scene 3

- 2 majorities The state of being grown-up (OED 2).
- 11 Artemidorus An ancient philosopher and soothsayer of the 2nd century, most remembered for being an interpreter of dreams who considered the sequence of dreams and the personality and circumstances of the dreamer.⁵⁵ The dreams and visions are interpreted and explained according to the Ancients and practice of the Moderns.
- [cf. Congreve, *Love for Love*. Mrs Frail to Valentine:
- But I invented a dream and sent him to Artimedorus
- for interpretation. (scene 14)]⁵⁶.

⁵⁵ Artemidorus, Daldianus. *The judgement, or exposition of dreams*. London: R. Braddock for William Jones, 1606. [Page numbers in the notes to this scene refer to the 1644 entry that may be found on EEBO.] A careful reading has not revealed any association with the lines at the beginning of Scene 3 and it is possible that as, at this stage, Sampson does not mention they are the interpretation of dreams, he may have been referring to another work of Artemidorus's, on augury, now extant, (E. Papamichael and S.G. Marketos, 'Artemidorian Oneirocrisia', *History of Psychiatry* (1995), 6, 125.)).

⁵⁶ Congreve, William. *Love for Love 1695*, (facsimile reprint). Menston: Scolar Press, 1969.

- 25 hung the lip look vexed, troubled (OED 2), but Sampson appears to suggest 'smile'.
- 27 Modems In the 17th century a celebrated literary debate raged in France and England concerning 'Ancient' and 'Modem'. 'Ancients' maintained that the Classical literature of Greece and Rome offered models for literary excellence whereas the 'Modems' challenged the supremacy of Classical writers.
- 29 frugality The quality of being careful with expenditure or using provisions (OED).
- 29 if... concordant In his book, the only relevant reference Artemidorus makes is 'Those stars or Planets ... which cause fayre and calme weather, are prosperity and Riches'. (p. 96).
- 31-2 Venus, Sol, Mercury The only mention in Artemidorus's book is Sun: 'To dream the Sun riseth shining and clear, is good to all... the beames are abundance of goods'. (p. 94).
- 34 white mercury In Elizabethan times, women often washed their faces with mercury to make the skin soft and white. It was a

⁵⁷ *Encyclopedia Britannica*. 'Ancients and Modems'. London: Encyclopedia Britannica, 2007.

fashionable (but toxic) make-up ingredient and was believed to clear the skin of spots and freckles, which it did, but it also removed the skin and corroded the flesh. The woman's teeth would fall out and the gums would recede. The mercury not only affected the wearer; the poison stayed within the woman's body and was passed on to her children.⁵⁸ Even in 21st century Asia, mercury (a potentially deadly substance) is found in a number of whitening face creams.⁵⁹

- 38 Castor and Pollux Legendary twin sons of Leda - one by her husband and the other by Jupiter when he appeared to her in the guise of a huge swan. One brother was mortal and the other an immortal demigod. The immortal brother gave up his immortality to demonstrate his love for his brother and his father Jupiter placed them in the sky together as a reward as Gemini, the twins.⁶⁰ 'Castor and Pollux' is another name for the constellation of Gemini (OED). There is no mention of them in the dream book.

⁵⁸ Pollard, Tanya. *Drugs and Theater in Early Modern England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. pp. 81 - 100.

Tang, H. L. et al. 'Minimal change disease following exposure to mercury-containing skin lightening cream'. *Hong Kong Medical Journal*, 12.4. (Aug 2006), 318.

⁶⁰ Hard, Robin, and Herbert Jennings Rose. *The Routledge Handbook of Greek Mythology*. London: Routledge, 2003. p. 526.

- 40 bollocks testicles (OED). Magpie is making a bawdy joke following Prattle's comment about the 'store of children' but she is quickly reprimanded for speaking 'broad', i.e. coarsely.
- 48 veney sharp retort (OED lb).
- 50,51 negotiated engaged, busied (OED1). The duplicated word may be caused by printer eye skip and the text corrupted at this point.
- 52 maxims rules (OED).
- 59 book of dreams I have been unable to find any relevant reference in the book.
- 56 facetious witty (OED 2).
- 62 infidel The new-born has not yet been baptised and therefore considered an 'unbeliever' (OED A1).
- 63 Buss! Kiss! (OED n2).
- 64-74 What... no money! A conversation full of *doubles entendres* referring to the genitalia of the baby.

- 70 marry to emphasise, surprise at the question (OED).
- 71 purse ... two pence Boote is eager that the baby is a boy and Prattle tries to avoid disappointing him, but an earlier comment (4.3.4) makes it clear that she is a girl. [cf. Rowley *A Shoemaker, A Gentleman*: Cicely tells her husband about the sex of her baby -
A boy, I'm sure; h'as a purse and two pence in't.(5.1.92)].
- 88 occasions needs, things to do (OED 10a).
- 89 groaning-cheese provided for the attendants and visitors after childbirth (OED 3).
- 90 requisites necessary accompaniments (OED B).
- 98 steal away in a qualm i.e. fade away with a sudden fit of faintness (OED n 1).
- 102 Artemidorus saith There is a comprehensive list of vegetables, flesh and fish in his book, many of which are listed in Sampson's play.
 'All herbs and roots ... reveal secrets and signifie anger .
 .. To eat flesh ... is good, except Beefe and Mutton, which signifie lamentation, losse and anger.' Artemidorus

says that 'venison is good ... fish is good' but makes no suggestion that flesh and fowl 'engender dreams'

(pp. 40, 42).

104 pease plural for 'pea' (OED).

104 coleworts originally, the name for any cabbage (OED 1).

106 skirrets water parsnips (OED 1a).

117 herbs and flowers Artemidorus believes that the message of flowers in dreams is mixed; e.g. 'roses are good for all, but the sicke ... for [they] shall dye' (p. 46).

118 braveries displays (OED 3).

115-138 Methought weep. It may be that Artemidorus's interpretation has some relevance in Anne's dream; e.g. 'It is also ill to be upon the River whose waves run against the person, and he cannot get out' (p. 87).

121 foaming surges Even today, the Trent at Clifton does not flow smoothly; the water is disturbed by currents and the rocky river bed.

122-128 I gathered flowers ... cf. Ophelia's song of death, flowers and herbs

(Ham. 4.5.178-86); cf. Gertrude's explanation as to where Ophelia is found (4.7.167-84). Also cf. WT, (4.3.73-132), in which Perdita similarly talks of flowers through the seasons, mentioning many of those in Anne's dream and also finishing her list with reference to death.

- 130 splendency splendour.
- 135 parley speak with (OED 2b).
- 139 strange dream cf. R3, the 'fearful dream' of Clarence:
 Lord, Lord! Methought what pain it was to drown:
 What dreadful noise of water in mine ears!
 What sights of ugly death within mine eyes! (1.4.21 -3).
- 143 To walk on the seas qv. '(this dream) to a woman it is dissolute life of her
 body, for the Sea is like to a harlot, because it hath a fair
 appearance and show, but in the end she brings many to
 evill' (p. 121),
- 145 gleery (gleering) covetous, cunning glance (OED).
- 160 parsley-bed Another bawdy joke - the pretended place where babies
 (especially girls) come from (OED 2).

- 165 Virgo The 6th sign of the zodiac (Aug), not the heavenly twins
Gemini (June) (OED).
- 166 sore eyes Artemidorus says ‘The Eyes signifie and represent
Children, whereupon a woman dreaming that her eyes
were sore, found her children sick’. (p. 149).
- 167-8 I dreamed ... presently! The nearest to this dream in the book is ‘that
which is signified by one thing, is also oftentimes the
signifier of the same thing’.
(p. 148).
- 169 diet-bread prepared for invalids (Anne is in childbed) (OED 7a).
- 169-175 Mark ... together. Prattle’s bawdiness is also evident in this speech
with sexual allusions to body lice and apples.
- 170 lice There is no mention of a ‘well appointed’ man in the
interpretation office in Artemidorus’s book, where ‘to
have some little quantity office ... signifies that one shall
be delivered from care and heaviness. But to have a great
quantity, is long sicknesse, captivity or great poverty’
(p. 119).

172 I dreamed there is no mention of these apples in Artemidorus's book. He does say 'those which in a dreame tell us any thing, and are worthy to be believed, are in the first place sent from God, for to lye in a thing, that agrees not with God', and this appears to be the belief on which the interpretation of all his dreams are built. (p. 110).

174 Kentish ... pippin A sweet apple peculiar to Kent.⁶¹ Artemidorus says 'To dream of Summer Apples, which are sweet and ripe is good, for they signifie a good time and joyfulnessse (p. 43).

174 twindle twins, identical (OED lb).

183 poppy A plant with narcotic tendencies; the source of opium (OED).

183 mandragora mandrake, used as a hypnotic or sedative (OED lb), [cf. Oth. Iago refers to the herb when reminding Othello of his deep sleep: Not poppy, nor mandragora, Nor all the drowsy syrups of the world, Shall ever medicine thee to that sweet sleep Which thou ow'dst yesterday. (3.3.331 -4)].

⁶¹ *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: 'Parishes: Tenham', Volume 6* (1798), pp. 284-296.

- 184 Hey-day! exclamation of surprise (OED).
- 186 slough condition (OED lb).
- 187 Somnus' dorm Roman God [of sleep]; sleep, doze (OED, north, dial.).
- 199 -201 the ferryman ... Tartary In Greek mythology, Charon the ferryman of Hades took the newly-dead from one side to the other of the river Acheron (into which the Cocytus flowed) (OED). The dead had to be buried or burned with proper rites, hence 'sooty' Acheron. Tartary (Tartarus) was considered an infernal region, hell, as far below the shadowy underworld of Hades as Heaven is above the earth.
- 204 the Furies The three dread goddesses of vengeance; it was believed that they would punish all crime without mercy and would also be the guardians of the law (OED 5).
- 206 brinish meres salty marshes (OED 4).
- 207 slatt'ring slovenly (OED), i.e. still, calm sea.
- 210 recourse return (OED).

- 211 chanticleer The name applied to cockerel (OED). [qv. Chaucer's *The Nonnes Preestes Tale of the Cok and Hen*, - *Chantecleer and Pertelote*; cf. Ham, the ghost's visitation is interrupted by the crowing of the cock:
- Horatio: I have heard,
The cock, that is the trumpet to the mom,
Doth with his lofty and shrill-sounding throat
Awake the god of day; and at his warning,
Whether in sea or fire, in earth or air,
The extravagant and erring spirit hies
To his confine. 1.1.149-155)].
- 225 Ay me! Alas! Ah me! (OED 2b).
- 229 Marry! By Mary! (OED 1).
- 244 distempered deranged, disturbed (OED 2)
- 259-60 For... Colwick The ferry was just east of Clifton village, [cf. Ham.
Gertrude ... Your sister's drowned, Laertes.
Laertes Drowned! Oh where?
Gertrude ... an envious sliver broke
When down her weedy trophies and herself
Fell in the weeping brook. ...
Laertes Alas, then she is drowned? (4.7.165-184)].

- 268 rack Instrument of torture that causes intense pain or suffering
(OED n3lb).
- 282 to keep marts withal to trade with (OED 2).
- 290 sensible acutely aware (OED 1.6).
- 293 parricide-like In the manner of a person who kills a near relative (OED).
- 295 abjures renounces, recants (OED 1).
- 296 precepts rules for moral conduct (OED).
- 303 commiserate feel compassion for (OED 1).
- 308-9 Our angers ... not us. The anger we felt towards each other has burnt itself
out; it has caused terrible pain to those we love, and must
now be put aside.
- 312 Come, we will be friends cf. R&J, offering a hand of friendship,
Capulet (to Montague):
... give me thy hand (5.3.296).

cf. also, H5, Bardolph to Pistol and Nym:

Come, shall I make you two friends? We must to
France together. Why the devil should we keep
knives to cut one another's throats? (2.1.93-95).

312 cell Small humble dwelling suitable for a hermit (OED 1.3.a).

318 ruth matter of sorrow or regret (OED 4a).

318-9 For... her cf. R&J Prince: For never was a story of more woe
Than this of Juliet and her Romeo. (5.3.309-10).

ACT 5

Act 5 Scene 1

| | | |
|-------|--------------|--|
| 7 | sued | pursued |
| 18-55 | the Articles | <p>Clifton's first two speeches are very similar to Holinshed's accounts of the Thirteen Articles (p. 1192.30; 1193.43). The basic historical facts are that 'it was agreed between French and English representatives, at Edinburgh on 6 July 1560, that all military forces, land and naval, of each party shall withdraw from the realm of Scotland ... and that all warlike preparations, namely in English and Ireland against the French or Scots and in France against the English, Irish or Scots, shall entirely cease ...'</p> |
| 25 | confines | Holinshed states 'countries'. |
| 26 | straitly | strictly, narrowly (OED 3b) [Holinshed uses 'strictlie']. |
| 27 | services | Holinshed writes 'service'. |

34 ratified settled, confirmed (OED).

46 defaced disfigured, destroyed (OED) [Holinshed: 'rased and demolished'].

47 man of war Holinshed says 'men of war'.

51 That Francis ... France Holinshed adds 'and Scotland'.

53 dread revered (OED ppl.2).

58 barricaded portals defended gates (OED).

69 unbrace relax the tension of a drum (OED 2c).

s.d. *jacks* (leathern) jug or tankard (OED n2.2) .

[The s.d. has been re-positioned from 1.87 to enable Ball
and Rouge Croix to observe Joshua]

72 brisk Orleance agreeably sharp wine (OED 4) from Orleans.

- the Leen The second reference to this river that runs through the centre of Nottingham. It was deep enough for boats and had been dammed to form pools, (qv. 3.2.62).
- Brownistical (Another religious reference.) Brownists, Independents, Separatists: non-conformists who broke with the church of England, followers of the ecclesiastical principles of Robert Brown (OED 1)]. Brown(e) (c.1550-1633) was a prominent Separatist; passionate, resolute and determined to reform the churches in England and Scotland.
- [Sampson's reference would appear to be anachronistic as his play is set in 1560 although, curiously, under 'Brownistical' the OED uses a quotation from *The Vow Breaker*.]
- Pyramus and Thisbe In ancient mythology, Pyramus was the most handsome youth in Babylonia, Thisbe the fairest maid. They fell in love but their parents forbade them to meet. They discovered that the wall between their houses had a small chink that allowed them to talk through it. Later Thisbe comes across Pyramus, believes he has been killed and kills herself. Pyramus wakes, sees dead Thisbe and kills himself, [cf. the story of R&J; also MNP, in which the Mechanicals perform a play for the royal audience: Quince: Gentles, perchance you wonder at this show;

But wonder on, till truth make all things plain.

This man is Pyramus, if you would know;

This beauteous lady Thisbe is, certain.

(MND 5.1.129-32).

79 Cato ... so Marcus Cato (the Censor), a Roman statesman (234 - 149 BC) had two sons, but there is no evidence that either of them committed suicide by hanging.

85 topped quaffed (OED v3).

85 cannikin a small drinking vessel (OED).

88 As ... sincerity i.e. a painted picture is executed to look like genuine tapestry, but we know it is only pretend.

90-108 When from the wars ... I have searched through collections of ballads and military songs but have not been able to identify this song.

97 foremost battery most advanced unit of military equipment.

110 edify profit in a spiritual sense (OED 4).

6 Plutarch. *The Lives of Aristeides and Cato*, ed. with trans. by David Sansone. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, c.1989.

| | | |
|-----|------------------|---|
| 114 | gone both ways | i.e. departed and is dead drunk (OED 48a,d). |
| 117 | articled | drawn up, specified (OED 1). |
| 122 | cates | choice provisions (OED 1). |
| 123 | exigents | urgent times (OED B.n 1) |
| 126 | powdered (horse) | salted, pickled (OED 1a). |
| 133 | potions | Liquids with healing or poisonous qualities (OED 1a), |
| 134 | nicety | enjoyment, indulgence of delicacies (OED1, as II.9b)] |
| 138 | wolf | Moth that infests granaries (OED 3d), |
| 138 | maw-worm | Parasitic worm that feeds on stomach or intestines (OED). |
| 138 | internal | existing (OED A. 1a). |
| 146 | Duke of Norfolk | Thomas Howard, 4th Duke (1538-1572); brought up as a Catholic, but proved prepared to change with the establishment of the Elizabethan church in 1559 and was sent by Elizabeth to fight in Leith. (DNB). |

- 151 progress Official journey (OED II.5a). There is no evidence that Queen Elizabeth visited Nottingham in 1560 although it was a proposed venue for the planned meeting in 1562 between Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots.⁶⁴
- 155 vested legally binding (that is, as in betrothal) (OED 1).

Act 5 Scene 2

- 2-3 turning ... eyes i.e. they will find it monotonous, tedious (qv. 3.2.73).
- 4 speak i' th' nose in a nasal tone (OED 3).
- 6-8 Wouldst... conceit Miles is reminding Ball that Joshua must not take part in the entertainment because his Puritanism would cause them great trouble. He appears to be making direct reference to Jonson's *Bartholomew Fayre* where a Puritan does introduce a puppet show, apparently without regard for his beliefs.⁶⁵ Sampson was one of many dramatists who enjoyed satirising Puritanism - *The Vow Breaker*

⁶⁴ Archer, Jayne, et al. *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*. 4 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2009. vol 4, 1596 to 1603.

⁶⁵ Johnson (sic), Ben. *Bartholomew Fayre* (acted in 1614). London: Printed by I.B. for Robert Allot, 1631; Waith, Eugene M. 'The Staging of Bartholomew Fair', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900. Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama*, 2.2 (Spring, 1962), pp. 181-195.

being published three years after William Prynne's *Histriomastix* in which he soundly condemns the theatre. In both *Bartholomew Fayre* and *The Alchemist*, Jonson highlights the religious hypocrisy of his Puritan characters Busy, Ananias and Tribulation, as did Shakespeare through Shylock, Malvolio, and Angelo.

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------|--|
| 9 | sowter | shoemaker; cobbler (OED 1). |
| 10 | hobby-horse | Figure of a horse, made of wickerwork or other light material, furnished with a deep housing, and fastened about the waist of one of the performers who executed various antics in imitation of the movements of a skittish or spirited horse (OED 2). This was a coveted principal role - the man (brightly dressed, carrying the image of the horse between his legs and holding a bow and arrow), represented the May king. |
| 16 | choleric | in a passion, angry (OED 4). |
| 19-27 | Have ... frizzled? | Sampson must have known that this interchange about horses and riding skills would particularly appeal to the influential Newcastle with his obsession for all matters equestrian. |

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| careerers | Horses galloping at full speed but with the ability to make a swift turn (OED 2a). |
| prancers | Spirited or prancing horses (OED 2a). |
| false trot | where one pair of feet leave the ground before the other reaches it, i.e. all feet are off the ground at once. |
| ambles | riding at an easy pace (OED 1). |
| Canterbury pace | canter, an easy gallop (originally supposed to indicate the pace of the mounted pilgrims, OED 2). |
| braveries | fine clothes (OED 2b). |
| frizzled | curled (OED v1). |
| Marian | Female character in the morris dance and May game; the person (usually a man or boy) who plays this character (OED =Maid Marian 1a). The 'Marian' of the dance may refer to the maid of another Nottinghamshire legend, that of Robin Hood. |
| oration | Formal discourse delivered in elevated and dignified language (OED 2). |

- 38-9 He ... Coventry i.e. because if a man were 'sent to Coventry' and
excluded from society because of objectionable behaviour
(OED 1), he would be very conspicuous.
- 41 keep more stir create more disturbance (OED 3)
- 43 Tutbury bull-running Tutbury, Staffs, (referred to by Sampson as 'Tedbury'),
was known for a cruel ancient custom where a bull was
mutilated and let loose, and minstrels had to chase it
through the streets urged on by excited villagers.⁶⁶
- 49 'a contracted form of 'ha' (he); [cf. R&J: Nurse, ref. her
husband - 'A was a merry man ... 1.3.40)].
- 51 he, forsooth, conceits he, in truth, imagines (OED v.2).
- 51 Sir-reverence save your reverence, with respect (OED 1).
- 54 conceit idea (OED n.1).
- 54 parboiled half-cooked, i.e. half-baked; silly (OED 2).

⁶⁶Timbs, John, and Alexander Gunn. *Castles and Ancient Halls of England & Wales and their legendary lore and popular history*, (1872). London: F. Wame & Co., 1925. p. 538.

- 56-63 You ... peer cf. *A Godly Warning for all Maidens* (1603)
- You dainty Dames fo finely fram'd
- Of beauties chieft maid.⁶⁷
-
- 69 staff (stave) verse of a song (OED 19c).
-
- 81 distempers disturbances due to deranged or disordered condition of
the mind (OED 4).
-
- 111 wire ties perhaps, for a ruff (OED III.9a); or fastening wire to
support the hair.
-
- 118 jade's trick Although 'jade' is a contemptuous name for a horse, it
may also be used playfully, or figuratively (OED1); here,
the expression may suggest that, in the middle of their
game with Boote, Ursula has suddenly broken up the fun
and left Miles without further attention, [cf. MA
Benedict: I would my horse had the speed of your tongue,
and so good a continuer. But keep your way, i' God's
name; I have done.
Beatrice: You always end with a jade's trick: I know you
of old. (1.1.148-152)].

⁶⁷ Pepys Collection 1.504-505 (this and other ballads is discussed in the Introduction).

Act 5 Scene 3

| | | |
|----|-------------------|---|
| 6 | sojourner | guest, visitor (OED 2). |
| 8 | fuller | more full. |
| 15 | St Lucy | patron saint of the blind. ⁶⁸ |
| 17 | fellmonger | dealer in skins or hides (OED). |
| 17 | right to th' hide | i.e. uncomplicated men, as basic as the untreated skins on which they work. |
| 18 | recorder | Person with legal knowledge appointed by the mayor and aldermen to 'record' or keep in mind the proceedings of their courts and the customs of the city (OED). (Sampson may have intended a pun on 'recorder'.) |
| 20 | fain | willingly, with pleasure (OED 4B) |
| 21 | design | plan, scheme (OED I.1a) |
| 23 | dotterels | silly people, dotards (OED 2); a species of plover that |

⁶⁸I am unable to suggest why the mayor appears to favour this particular oath. Saint Lucy (whose eyes were plucked out and miraculously grew again) is venerated by all Christians for her courage and is a symbol of light.

allows itself to be caught and is therefore regarded as
being stupid (OED 1)

30 Edward the First... There appears to be some poetic licence here. The Trent was a great highway and was once the dividing line between the kingdoms of Mercia and Northumberland. It was Edward 'The Elder' (899-925) who, in 924, built a bridge over the river and a borough on the other side, and so controlled the passage of the Trent to make it navigable.[Ⓓ] Edward 'the Elder' is not generally referred to as Edward I; this title was given to Edward 'Longshanks' (1272-1307), who appears to have no particular connection with Nottingham.

31 There is no coat of arms for Edward 'the Elder', and that for Edward 'Longshanks' (and all the monarchs of England from the 13th century) was designed by Richard I (1157-1199) and does not show three crowns. Nottingham City Council's arms has, since 1603, showed three ducal coronets against a gules (red) field but there is no azure (blue) on the shield. The coat of arms for Hull, however, shows three gold crowns above each other on an azure

Ⓓ Orange, James. *History and Antiquities of Nottingham*. London: Hamilton, 1840. p. 83.

field, believed to be for the three founding monarchs of the early town, Edward I, Edward II and Henry VI.

[The navigation of the Trent is discussed in the Introduction to this play.]

33 barks large flat boats, barges (OED n22).

35-36 two Edwards ... Even during Edward I's reign, 'The Master [of the Templars] had straitened [narrowed] the Passage of the water... so that Boats and other Vessels could not pass as they were wont, which was a great Nuisance ' ⁷⁰ (1279-80) and, by the time of Richard II, 'the course of the water . . . is . . . wholly diverted, obstructed and narrowed . . . to the immoderate expense and grievance of merchants and others of divers counties ' (1378). ⁷¹

37 Bolingbroke Henry Bolingbroke (1366-1413) was the grandson of Edward II and became Henry IV in 1399.

37 Harry the Fifth As Prince of Wales, Harry (i.e. the future Henry V) was engaged in confrontation with Percy (i.e. 'Hotspur') during the battle of Shrewsbury in 1403.

[cf. 1H4: Hotspur (wounded, to Prince Harry):

⁷⁰ *Transactions of the Thoroton Society, Nottingham, I, 377.*

⁷¹ *Records of the Borough of Nottingham, I. CVIII.1 19.*

O, Harry, thou hast robb'd me of my youth!

I better brook the loss of brittle life

Than those proud titles thou hast won of me:

They wound my thoughts worse than thy sword my flesh

(5.4.77-80)].

38 Percy

Sir Henry 'Harry Hotspur' Percy (71364/6-1403) son of the Earl of Northumberland. The Percy family rose in rebellion against Henry IV in 1403; Henry Percy died in the battle of Shrewsbury (DNB).

39 Glendower

Welsh nationalist leader Owain Glyn Dwr (c.1359-c.1416) allied with English rebels, including the Percies, against Henry IV. In 1405 Glendower, Edmund Mortimer and the Earl of Northumberland (Henry Percy, father of 'Harry Hotspur') agreed to divide England and Wales in three, in an endeavour to remove Henry IV. Glendower 'intended taking as his share a greatly extended Wales which stretched to the source of the Trent and to the Mersey'. (DNB).

[cf. 1H4: Hotspur (to Glendower, arguing as to how to divide up the land):

Methinks my moiety, north from Burton here,

In quantity equals not one of yours.

See how this river comes me cranking in,(curves into my territory)

And cuts me from the best of all my land
 A huge half-moon, a monstrous cantle⁷⁹ out,
 I'll have the current in this place damm'd up,
 And here the smug and silver Trent shall run
 In a new channel, fair and evenly;
 It shall not wind with such a deep indent
 To rob me of so rich a bottom here. (96-105).

Hotspur: I'll have it so; a little charge will do it.

Glendower: I'll not have it alter'd.

Hotspur: Will not you?

Glendower: No, nor you shall not.

Hotspur: Who shall say me nay?

Glendower: Why, that will I. (3.1.115-119)].

53 John of Wilton The queen is actually addressing William, the 13th Lord
 Grey of Wilton. (John, 8th Lord Grey died c.1523).
 Sampson may have been thinking of the adventures and
 experiences of Jack Wilton, 'out-landish Chronicler'
 (Image 51) of Thomas Nashe's *The Unfortunate*
 Traveller, or The Life of Jacke Wilton (1594) [and in
 which there is also reference to Anabaptists (Image 18)].

There is no suggestion, of course, that Nashe intended his
Jack Wilton to be William (or, indeed, John) Lord Grey.

59-60 Peace . . . French cf. HV, Canterbury is blessing the king before the arrival
of the French
Canterbury: God and his angels guard your sacred throne
And make you long become it! (1.2.7-8).

67 God of Battles cf. HV, the king prays before the battle
King: O God of battles, steel my soldiers hearts;
Possess them not with fear. (4.1.286-7).

78 The Duke of Norfolk This is another reference that may be of interest to
Sampson's readers and a further local connection: the
Duke of Norfolk's heir Thomas Howard, married Alatheia
Talbot, granddaughter of Bess of Hardwick and cousin of
William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle.

92-4 At Denis . . . Leith the queen appears to be referring to battles during the
reigns of Henry, Edward, Mary (?and herself): Denis,
[?date], Rouen (1591) [i.e. after the siege of Leith],
Boulogne (1544), Calais (1557), Musselburgh (i.e. Pinkie
Cleugh) 1547.

- 109 underminings excavations (OED lb); here, caves.
- 109 unpaced i.e. unexplored, secret.
- 109 griese (grece) flight of steps (OED 1).
- 113 Mortimer's Hole a network of secret tunnels under Nottingham castle through which, in 1330, Edward III sought out his mother, Queen Isabella, and her lover, Roger Mortimer, who were together in the castle and were the alleged murderers of his father Edward II.⁷⁴ Ben Jonson wrote a five act play about the love affair, *Mortimer, His Fall*, of which only a fragment survives.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ DNB (Edward III).

⁷⁵ Ribner, Irving. *The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare*. London: Routledge, 2005. p. 290. 'A slight fragment still extant of *Mortimer, His Fall*, printed at the end of 1640, consists of the arguments of five acts together with one whole scene and a portion of another'.

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The Fire-breaker,

Theirs something in thee smells of fire,
Stand at distance.

An. Good fir, use patience,
That in extremity is sovereign Balm,
Tears be my wines I come to comfort you,
Yet I see nothing.

Ba. Tears? 'tis impossible!
Marble will drop, and melt against the raine,
And from the craggy Rocks, Fountainous Flouds
Of get inforced issues; but to gaine
Relenting tears from thy obdurate hart
'Tis impossible, as to force Fire from snow
Water from flint, say the Sun shall not shine,
As well upon the begger as the King,
That is alike indifferant to all.

Prf. Good fir remember,
Forgiveness is an Attribute of Heaven.
She has a harry sorrow for her finnes,
And comes to make attonement, if you please.
An. Still I nothing any where.

Ba. Pray listen;
Would not that Physician be well hang'd
That for his practise sake Kills his patient,
And after pleades a sorrow to his friends?
She weepes, an evidence of a harry sorrow,
My boy would not have scene her weepe thus long,
But hee'd have minister'd comfort I my teares
Plays the theife with mine eyes too.

An. Yet all is safe; sure it was but my dreames, *Enter Ghost.*
Sit you had a son, blesse me 'tis here now.
In the same figure that it us'd to be.
Peace is more deare, and precious unto me
Then a nights rest, to a man turmoild in Law.
My eyes set heere un-mou'd, i'll gaze with thee,
Vntill the windowes of my head drop out.
But then my minde wilbe afflicted too.
For what is unscene there, is visible here.

Lead.

or the fayre Maid of Clifton,

Leade me, i'll follow; though to a desert,
Or any uncouth place, worke thy vengeance,
And doe not torture me alive; neyther.

Gho. All things keepe their time!
An. Let all times daughters which are daies, convert
To one day, and bring me to my period,

Ba. Whom convertes she withall?
Prf. To her unscene fancies.

An. See with eyes of wonder! see!
Ba. What should I see?

An. Aske you what? why 'tis your son,
Just as he d'd, looke, looke, there, here, there.

Ba. Is this thy sorrow, com'st thou to mocke me?
An. Just heavens not I see how it smiles on you,
On me it hurles a dejected looke. *Takes the Picture*

Ba. Because I hang his Picture nere my bed,
Com'st thou to laugh me out out, fond-ling, noe!
See thus I gaze on it; stroke his snowy hands,
And prune the curled tresses of his locks,
Which the Art-man neatly has dishevell'd.

Prf. Good fir; have patience, her's is true sorrow,
And not derision.

Stands betweene the Picture & Ghost.

An. Another Ganimede!
This eye, and you'd are one? this front, that lip,
This cheek, a little ruddier shewes then that,
The very shie palenes of his face,
The mossie downe still growing on his chin,
And to his Alabaster finger pointing
To the bracelet, whereon the peece of gold
We broke betweene us hangs.

Ba. Certes shee's madd.

An. Pray come hither,
You shade this Picture from the peasant Sun,
And curtaine it, to keepe it from the dust,
Why are you not as chary then of that?
It looks as it were could, alas poore Picture,

Ba.

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